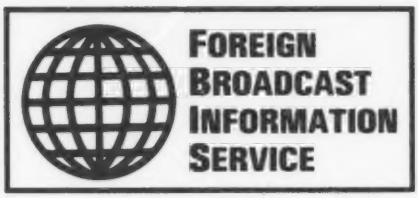

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CSCE Arms Talk Meeting Opens in Vienna

Progress Assessed

AU221455 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 20 Sep 87 pp 1,4

[Article by USSR Major General V. Tatarnikov, member of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting: "Facing a Responsible Stage," especially dispatched to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME by NOVOSTI]

[Text] On 22 September, at the same time as the beginning of the new regular stage of the meeting of the 35 participant states in the CSCE meeting in Vienna, the consultations will resume between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on determining the mandate of the negotiations on reducing troops and arms throughout Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. The 23 states that participate in the consultations must formulate the mandate on whose basis negotiations could begin on the most important issue related to reducing the troops and arms on an all-European scale: What has been done so far at the consultations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO representatives, and what are the prospects?

During the previous stage, the two sides introduced their drafts of the mandates for future negotiations. The clear position of the Warsaw Pact member states is to reduce all components of the European states' ground troops and tactical aviation, as well as the respective U.S. and Canadian troops and systems, together with their standard weapons, combat equipment, and nuclear means.

If we compare this clear position with the concept of negotiations as understood by NATO, we shall see first of all that the countries of the North Atlantic Bloc do not envisage a mutual reduction, and speak only of ground troops and eliminating the "imbalance" at the expense of the Warsaw Pact member states. They would like to leave the tactical nuclear systems, including tactical-striking aviation, outside the negotiations' sphere.

Why are we firmly defending the reduction concept? Because it is precisely the reduction of the level of the two military-political alliances' military potentials, which has already surpassed the reasonable limits needed for defense, that serves as the basis of the entire program of disarmament on a broad all-European scale.

Only a radical reduction of the troops and arms could lead to stability in Europe. In addition, stability is practically impossible without reducing such important components as the nuclear systems and the tactical striking aviation. Tactical nuclear weapons and striking aviation are the most important component elements of the strike potential, and of conducting large-scale attacking operations. They cannot be separated from the ground troops because they are part of their structure, and, indeed, represent "dual purpose systems," which can use both nuclear and conventional ammunition.

Common sense indicates that the same type of weapons—"dual purpose systems"—cannot be subject to different negotiations. If the goal really is to establish stability in Europe (as NATO's draft points out), then all components of the ground troops, tactical nuclear weapons, and tactical nuclear aviation must be reduced in an integrated manner. The West claims, on one hand, that it strives to eliminate the nations' strike potential, but on the other, it refuses to reduce the tactical nuclear systems and tactical nuclear aviation. After all, these components are parts of the strike potential. There is no logic in the entire matter.

The NATO member states often claim that the USSR enjoys superiority in tactical striking systems and aviation. Since such an apprehension does exist (although it is clearly invented), the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member states propose to eliminate the imbalance of these components, wherever it exists—on the one or the other side. Why then does the West refuse to review these components? Because the superiority in the sphere of these components really is on the side of the United States and NATO. Henceforth they do not include the tactical strike weapons and the striking aviation in the negotiations.

During the negotiations, the Warsaw Pact member states expressed their readiness to remove the imbalance in all weapons' components during the negotiations themselves. In addition, the imbalance must be removed not only in the area of tanks, as NATO member states propose, but also in tactical aviation, nuclear artillery, tactical missiles, and other types of weapons and combat equipment. Only then could we speak of achieving stability in Europe.

A disagreement over principles is evident at the Vienna consultations on the issue related to reduction. According to the concept of the Warsaw Pact member states, it must encompass the entire European continent—from the Atlantic to the Urals, including the archipelagos and the island territories of the European states, the sea regions situated in an immediate proximity, and the entire territory of Turkey. This is a fully natural and well-grounded claim because both military contingents and combat equipment, which are subjected to reduction, could be deployed in these territories.

The United States and the NATO member states would like to restrict the zone of reductions, and exclude from it a part of Turkey's Armed Forces and their military bases located in Turkey. Turkey is a NATO member state, which has a large number of armed forces, that seriously influence the balance of power in Europe. It is on Turkish territory that the military potential of another participant in the negotiations—the United States—is deployed. This potential is an immediate threat for the USSR and its allies, and must be unconditionally included in the reductions. This approach is imposed by the equal respect of the security interests of all states which participate in the negotiations. Unfortunately, these are not the only serious differences between the two sides' positions. The success of the concluding

part of the consultations will depend to a large degree on the proposals for solving the key issues, which the representatives of the NATO member states will bring with them to Vienna.

It must be stressed that the principled agreement between the USSR and the United States to conclude a treaty on the medium- and lower-range missiles, which was achieved 2 days ago, creates a favorable atmosphere and reveals good possibilities to achieve substantial positive results at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed troops and arms in Europe. The nations are awaiting such a development and hope that this historical step toward constructing a nuclear-free world will be followed by new and important agreements in the area of disarmament and strengthening international peace and stability.

GDR Spokeman Comments

LD211551 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1414 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Sep (ADN)—The GDR, on the resumption of work at the Vienna CSCE review meeting on 22 September 1987, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, will do everything in its power to start without further delay on the editing of the final document. So said GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer to the press on Monday. The preconditions exist for substantial agreements on all main directions of the Final Act which strengthen and develop the process of security and cooperation in Europe that began with the Helsinki Conference. Especially since the principled agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on an accord for the worldwide removal of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles of longer and shorter range has also improved the conditions for a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting.

As the most important task of the Vienna meeting, the objective now is to work out a mandate for future negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and at the same time smooth the path for an agreement on further security and confidence-building measures. At the same time the GDR is in favor of mutually acceptable accords for cooperation in the economic, ecological, and humanitarian areas.

SFRY Proposal Presented

LD222035 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Vienna, September 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav delegation presented here today a proposal for holding negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The proposal, explained by Ambassador Ignac Golob, head of the Yugoslav delegation, at a plenary session of the Vienna continuity meeting of the CSCE, is motivated with the seeking to have all the CSCE member countries reduce their armed forces.

The Yugoslav proposal provides for holding parallel negotiations among the countries of the two military-political alliances on strengthening confidence measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

In phase one of negotiations on conventional disarmament, the military forces of the countries not affiliated with the two military alliances as their members would not be included. According to the Yugoslav proposal, on the course of negotiations among the two blocs' 23 countries the CSCE plenum should be informed once a month, the Yugoslav proposal says.

The CSCE should confirm a mandate for negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe as a component part of the closing document of the Vienna continuity meeting, Ambassador Golob proposed.

The Yugoslav proposal starts from the conviction that every participating state is entitled to decide on matters which concern its security. Involved is a realistic proposal for negotiations within the CSCE. This is in appreciation of the logical fact that disarmament should start from the two groups of countries belonging to the military alliances which set aside for "millions of troops and thousands of tanks and planes" - according to some figures - 90 percent of all armament outlays, Golob said.

Polish Delegate Speaks

LD230442 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Vienna, Sept. 22—Speaking during the opening of the fourth round of the Vienna CSCE conference which began here today after a seven-week break, Jerzy M. Nowak, the head of the Polish delegation stressed that the main goal of the present round is to begin work on the wording and agreeing upon the conference's final document.

Next, Nowak drew attention to the favourable conditions in which the conference is taking place. After the signing of the preliminary Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear weapons in Europe, he pointed to the connection between Wojciech Jaruzelski's initiative and the CSCE process.

"We see the realization of this initiative within the CSCE and especially within the framework of the future negotiations on conventional disarmament and confidence and security building measures in Europe," he said.

U.S. Presence Linked to Gulf Incidents

LD221940 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Overnight the Persian Gulf has become the stage for direct military action by the United States. A helicopter from the missile frigate *Jarrett*, which is 1 of 30 vessels in the U.S. naval flotilla in the Gulf, attacked an Iranian ship in international waters in the northern part of the Gulf. What was bound to happen sooner or later finally did happen. Slavomir Horsky reports:

According to an IRNA report it was a merchant ship which was transporting food and there was no military equipment on it. The Pentagon spokesman in contrast claimed that the action took place because the vessel was placing some objects in the water which it was thought were mines. The U.S. helicopter opened fire on the ship with heavy machineguns and also fired several missiles at it. The ship caught fire but did not sink. According to the latest reports, after the attack four dead and four wounded Iranian sailors were pulled from the water. The Pentagon spokesman has said that it will be 2 days before it can be confirmed whether the ship was really laying mines or not.

Shortly before the U.S. attack on the Iranian vessel there was another incident in the Persian Gulf when the tanker "Gentle Breeze" sailing under the British flag was attacked in the northern part of the Gulf between the Iranian island of Farsi and the Saudi coast. According to news agency reports, the attack was carried out by Iranian boats. A fire broke out on the tanker and one sailor died.

Observers agree that the latest incidents are the consequence of escalating the naval presence of the United States and other NATO states in the Persian Gulf. This escalation can only increase the drama of the tense situation in this part of the world.

Commentary on Austrian Missiles Possibility

AU231302 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 87 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "Missiles With a Warning Background"]

[Text] Before departing for a week-long visit to the United States, Austrian Defense Minister Robert Lichal had claimed that his trip would have nothing to do with the purchase of arms. On Monday [14 September] he met with U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and in the subsequent days he inspected U.S. military facilities and also had a look at various types of weapons. Lichal conferred with his American counterpart on the possibility of selling American antitank and air-defense weapons to Austria, as well as missiles and guided weapons, in which Austria's showing interest.

The question of equipping the Austrian Army with missiles and guided weapons has increasingly been making its way to the pages of Austrian newspapers recently. The plans to modernize the Austrian Army and to equip it with missiles have also been confirmed by Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. However, it is notably the purchase of missiles and guided weapons that cannot be justified by anything, as this runs counter to the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, which explicitly forbids Austria to own, produce, or test certain types of weapons, including all types of missiles and guided weapons.

However, the whole matter also has a sensitive political background. The idea of purchasing American weapons was not born in Austria, the first person to come up with it was precisely Caspar Weinberger during his visit to Vienna last year. In an interview for the Austrian press the Pentagon chief called on Austria "to contribute its share to the defense of Europe." On this occasion he indicated that equipping Austria with missiles could be such a contribution.

This idea was welcomed by some military officials, but it did not find the unequivocal support of Austrian politicians, especially because of the financial aspect of the matter. Austria has a huge budget deficit and additional outlays would be hard to sustain and impossible to explain to the Austrian taxpayer. Above all, no realistically minded Austrian politician could agree to the violation of the State Treaty, which, along with the status of permanent neutrality, not only assists in Austria's successful development, but also contributes to its authority in the international arena. Equipping the Austrian army with missiles is also at odds with the spirit of the present in light of the current efforts to eliminate missiles as carriers of warheads, be they nuclear or conventional. The Austrian Government should be particularly careful not to come under direct pressure from the military interests of the United States and NATO. The purchase of American missiles would be a sign that it is retreating in the face of this pressure. In the end, this could not fail to arouse the concern of the neighboring socialist states, first and foremost the public in Czechoslovakia.

Syrian Deputy Prime Minister Talas Visits

Welcomed by Hrivnak, Vaclavik

LD211236 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Army General Mustafa Talas, deputy prime minister and minister of defense of the Syrian Arab Republic, arrived in Czechoslovakia today for an official visit. At Ruzyne Airport in Prague, he was welcomed by Pavel Hrivnak, federal vice premier, and Army General Milan Vaclavik, Czechoslovak minister of national defense.

Opens Talks with Vaclavik

LD211627 Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—Syrian Defence Minister Army General Mustafa Talas, on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, met today with the Czechoslovak Minister of Defence, Army General Milan Vaclavik, for talks on bilateral cooperation and international issues.

During their talks, the two sides exchanged information on recent developments in their countries and expressed commitment to further develop contacts between the two nations' armed forces.

They also stressed both Czechoslovakia and Syria supported a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict, with the Czechoslovak minister expressing full solidarity with Syria's anti-imperialist struggle on behalf of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Talas, who is also Syria's deputy premier, arrived on the visit earlier today.

Received by Strougal, Exchanges Views

LD211743 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Today in Prague Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, received in Hrzan Palace Army General Mustafa Talas, vice premier and defense minister of Syrian Arab Republic, and his entourage, who are on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives exchanged views on the situation in the world, above all, in the Middle East. Lubomir Strougal highly appreciated the stands of the Syrian Arab Republic, its loyalty to the Arab cause, and to progress in general. He said that there is no other way toward installation of peace in the region than the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the assertion of the vested rights of the Palestinian people. Then he spoke with appreciation about the high level of our contacts, about their comprehensive chartacter, and their prospects.

An agreement was reached that in the interest of the further dynamic development of economic cooperation it is necessary to prepare specific measures to avoid unbalanced trade turnover.

Visits Military Academy, Engineering Fair

LD221457 Prague CTK in English 1235 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CTK)—Syrian Deputy Premier and Defence Minister Army General Mustafa Talas visited the army military academy at Vyskov, south Moravia today.

The Syrian guest and his entourage were informed by Commander of the Academy Lieutenant-General Zdenek Havala of the system of training of undergraduates. He saw lecture halls and laboratories as well as dummy equipment used for training shooting from various types of weapons and driving vehicles. On the training ground later he watched undergraduates in a demonstration of a tank and motorized infantry exercise. He highly praised the preparedness of the tank and troop carrier troops and operators of anti-tank guided missiles.

In the afternoon, the deputy premier visited the international engineering fair in Brno.

Husak To Visit SFRY 21-23 September

Spokesman on Itinerary

AU220835 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 87 p 1

[CTK report: "Coming Visit to Yugoslavia; Apart from Belgrade, Comrade Husak Will Also Visit Zagreb"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, will pay an official friendly visit to the SFRY on 21-23 September 1987. The visit will take place at the invitation of top Yugoslav representatives.

According to a spokesman of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, will discuss the current state of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations and their further development in all spheres with Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee, and Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency. They will also assess issues of the present situation in the world. The top representatives will also brief each other on the results achieved in fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 13th LCY Congress.

Within the framework of his stay in the SFRY, Comrade Gustav Husak will visit Zagreb. A document will be signed on the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of both states up to the year 2000.

The top CSSR representative's visit to the SFRY will be a significant event in the mutual relations of our two socialist countries, bound by long-term and traditional ties of cooperation and friendship.

Husak Interview

LD192100 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Sep 87

["Text" of 14 September interview with Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and President of the CSSR, by Mladen Arnautovic, TANJUG editor in chief; Sava Bosanac, TANJUG Prague correspondent; and Samuel Ceman, editor of the Slovak weekly *Hlas Ludu*, published in the SFRY]

[Text] The first question was: Your forthcoming official friendly visit to the SFRY will undoubtedly be an opportunity for fruitful talks on the development of SFRY-CSSR relations. What is your assessment of the current level of relations?

Comrade Gustav Husak replied very positively. He continued as follows: In 1973 during my visit to Yugoslavia, President Josip Broz Tito and I agreed on the principles on which we would develop our mutual relations. On this basis our relations have shown a constant and marked upward trend in practically all spheres. Czechoslovakia occupies fourth place in Yugoslavia's foreign trade, and Yugoslavia also holds a leading position in our foreign trade. An intensive political dialogue

is going on between our countries, permeated with the spirit of mutual understanding and respect. An important contribution to the development of our relations was the 1984 visit by Mika Spiljak, then president of the SFRY Presidency. Greatly important for the development of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations is the high intensity and level of contacts between the CPCZ and the LCY. Regular, frequent, and businesslike contacts also take place between our governments, highest representative bodies, and social organizations. Our mutual cultural exchange, athletic, and other contacts are rich. There are also lively, friendly contacts between our towns, and close relations between our peoples are promoted by vigorous tourism. All this, stated Comrade Gustav Husak, continues to enrich and develop the longstanding fraternal and friendly relations between our peoples. Asked which areas, in his view, could be singled out as spheres in which Yugoslav-Czechoslovak cooperation could be developed and enhanced more successfully in the coming years, and which issues in Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations deserve to be given particular attention at the forthcoming top-level talks, Comrade Gustav Husak answered as follows:

We are sincerely interested in further strengthening cooperation between our countries in the political, economic, cultural, and other fields. I believe that all the necessary preconditions and mutual will and interest exist for this. In this respect we place emphasis on economic and scientific and technical cooperation, areas in which a great deal has been achieved. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have become important trade partners, but further opportunities could be taken to our mutual benefit on the basis of mutual advantage and equality.

We see as the main prerequisite to this making economic cooperation more long-term and stable; specializing and sharing production to a greater degree; and having direct ties between enterprises and other modern factors of international economic integration. Therefore, we attach great significance to the long-range program for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between our countries up to the year of 2000, which is to be signed during my visit, Comrade Gustav Husak declared.

The next question was: Yugoslavian experience shows that national minorities are a factor of friendship and cooperation between nations and states. How is it manifested in your view, esteemed Comrade general secretary, in Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations?

Comrade Gustav Husak said that around 100,000 Czechs and Slovaks live in Yugoslavia. Their forefathers went to that country in the 18th century. Our compatriots took part in a dignified way in the national liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people and have been sharing actively in the development of socialist Yugoslavia. I would like to commend the fact that the SFRY Constitution has fully assured them the opportunities for national development and full cultural and social life.

In the next question the Yugoslav media representatives recalled that the restructuring of the economic system was presently the center of political life in Czechoslovakia. How many significant changes, they asked, were anticipated in other areas of social life in keeping with the strategy for social and economic development approved by the 17th CPCZ Congress? What are the main features and objectives of this strategy and how will it be carried out?

Comrade Husak replied that the new and revolutionary stage of development has also required that Czechoslovakia speed up the dynamism of social and economic development, master the rapid pace of scientific and technological revolution, and come to terms with profound changes in the world. We regard as the principal path towards this a more effective utilization of the opportunities provided by the socialist system, the drive and activity of people, and creative application of new approaches in management and planning. Therefore, we have embarked upon the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other areas of social life. A comprehensive program for economic reform will be approved at the end of the current year, which we will gradually put into practice. Bills on state enterprise, on agricultural cooperatives, and on production, consumer and housing cooperatives, which are currently the subject of a broad debate in our country, form an important segment of it. We anticipate a substantial strengthening of the powers and accountability of enterprises, their transition to full financial autonomy and self-financing, and the broad participation of work collectives and their elected bodies in management and decisionmaking. Fundamental changes will concern industry, scientific and technological development, agriculture, cooperative movement, services, trade, and other sectors. In the social field we are particularly concerned with a further deepening of socialist democracy and self-administration; a greater flow of information to the public; and a genuine participation of broad stratas of working people in tackling social development issues and supervision.

The next question was: You, esteemed Comrade Husak have stressed on a number of occasions the necessity of such changes in society and the importance of more quickly overcoming inertia and old attitudes and applying new approaches that are appropriate for the current needs of social and economic development. Does the CPCZ expect to encounter certain difficulties or resistance in the application of this policy?

In his reply Comrade Gustav Husak stressed that both by their extent and implications these were the most important changes in management in our country since February 1948. In many ways they constitute a radical change in the existing methods and forms bound up with the period of extensive development. Their realization will therefore require a great effort in order to overcome the habits of bureaucratism, routine, and inertia ingrained over a period of many years. For this reason, we regard the struggle to change the ways people think as an integral part of the preparation of these profound

changes. These are not easy tasks without conflicts, but the interests of the future development of socialism require that they be pushed through consistently.

The next question Yugoslav media representatives asked recalled that on the basis of the meeting between Comrade Gustav Husak and foreign statesmen, as well as on the basis of talks between other leading Czechoslovak party and state officials with representatives of a great number of countries, the impression has been gained, especially of late, that Czechoslovakia's foreign political activity is very lively. What characterizes this activity? How do you assess the international situation and prospects for strengthening peace in the world?

The realities of the present day space and nuclear age, Comrade Gustav Husak said, call for new thinking and new approaches in tackling urgent international problems. Czechoslovakia is actively engaged both in her own and the common interest, within her possibilities, to contribute as much as possible to carry them out. Along with her allies in the Warsaw Pact she shares in the initiatives aimed at strengthening European and world security, genuine progress in both nuclear and conventional disarmament, overcoming confrontationist attitudes in international relations, strengthening international confidence, and constructive cooperation. Along with the GDR, Czechoslovakia has proposed the creation of a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the most exposed area of Central Europe. It shares in the endeavor aimed at uniting socialist, democratic, peace, and realistic-thinking forces in the world, regardless on their ideological and other differences of views, in taking active steps to avert a nuclear threat. As a result of the influence of a number of factors, there is growing in the world the awareness of the need to stand up against the threat of nuclear annihilation. It is precisely because of this that certain positive trends have begun to assert themselves in the international climate. In this respect the endeavor of the Soviet Union and initiatives launched by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are playing a big role. This all justifies our assumption that despite the existing tension and possible risks, the trend towards peaceful development will be gaining strength in the world.

Asked how, in this context, he viewed the activity of the nonaligned countries and their contribution to peace and the development of cooperation on an equal basis between nations and states, Comrade Gustav Husak had this to say:

We consider the Nonaligned Movement an important political force in the world today. Through its struggle against imperialism and for the eradication of all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, as well as its efforts to achieve a just solution to the world's economic and social problems, it has a significant and positive influence on world developments. Also very important is its contribution to the struggle to stop the arms race and improve the international atmosphere. We value highly Yugoslavia's role as one of the founding and leading members of the movement.

That was the full text of the interview granted by Comrade Gustav Husak prior to his forthcoming official friendly visit to Yugoslavia to representatives of the Yugoslav media. The full text of the interview will also be published in Monday's newspapers.

Departs with Potac, Chnoupek

LD210904 Prague CTK in English 0820 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak left today for a three-day official friendly visit to Yugoslavia, which takes place at the invitation of the Yugoslav State Presidency and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium.

President Gustav Husak is accompanied by Czehoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Svatopluk Potac and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

The top Czechoslovak representative was seen off at the Ruzyne Airport by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and other personalities.

The current stage of relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia is assessed by both sides as very successful and Gustav Husak's visit to Yugoslavia is expected to become a new significant stimulus for their further promotion in all spheres.

Important for the deepening of this cooperation are working meetings of representatives of the two countries' governments, parliaments, social and political organizations. Gustav Husak's talks with President Josip Broz Tito in Yugoslavia in October 1973 were followed by a number of other visits—former President of the Yugoslav Presidency Mika Spiljak visited Czechoslovakia in 1984, Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal went to Yugoslavia in 1975, and 1979 and 1984, Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic came to Czechoslovakia last spring.

The top Czechoslovak leader will meet during his current visit with Yugosalv President Lazar Mojsov and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium Bosko Krunic. Besides bilateral questions they will centre on the most urgent problems concerning strengthening peace, international security and cooperation, halting of the arms race, disarmament, international economic relations, and possible solution of problems in hotbeds of tension.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are to exchange goods worth 1,500 million dollars this year and in the 1986-1990 period their turnover is to reach 7,600 million dollars. Czechoslovakia is Yugoslavia's fourth biggest trade partner as regards the overall volume of trade, and second in the framework of socialist countries (following the Soviet Union).

Great attention will certainly be paid to higher forms of economic cooperation—specialization and cooperation between the two countries production organizations. At

present, economic cooperation between the two countries is based on about 40 agreements. A long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000, to be signed in the course of Gustav Husak's visit, will create a good basis for its further extension.

The most important items in Czechoslovakia's exports to Yugoslavia include machinery and equipment, electrical engineering products, lorries and cars, tractors, antifriction bearings, tools and apparatuses, coking coal, chemical raw materials and products, tyres, and consumer goods.

Yugoslavia exports to Czechoslovakia mainly machines and equipment, parts and accessories for motor vehicles and engineering consumer goods.

An important part of trade contacts is Czechoslovakia's use of Yugoslav services, particularly in the sphere of tourism, transport and the building industry. Successfully expanding is also cooperation in the sphere of culture, education and health care.

Lenart Addresses Slovak Youth Congress

AU181010 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Sep 87 pp 3,4

["Excerpts" from the speech delivered by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the Congress of the Socialist Youth Union in the Slovak SR in Bratislava on 13 September: "Adjusting Our Czechoslovak Clock to the Progressive World Time in Every Area"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The great importance of your congress is determined by the importance of the period in which it takes place. It is a period in which scientific-technical progress establishes undreamed of possibilities to satisfy man's needs, but, at the same time, also contains the resources to destroy man as a biological species. It is with this awareness that the socialist countries, spearheaded by the Soviet Union, and progressive and realistically minded forces in the world increase their struggle against the catastrophe of war, for the elimination of nuclear weapons and disarmament, for peaceful coexistence and understanding among nations and states.

The threat of the extinction of our planet in the flames and deadly radiation of a nuclear war is hovering over this planet. Day after day you hear about American plans to prepare the so-called "Star Wars," and plans to militarize outer space, which imperialist forces present simply as the deliverance of mankind from war. This is sheer hypocrisy because, in reality, these are new instruments of aggression and blackmail in the quest for world domination. The so-called "Star Wars" is not an exciting show that can be watched in bedroom slippers, as they would like to insinuate, but instead are a real threat to the whole world, to each human life. In today's age of nuclear missiles each of us is directly affected by everything that is connected with weapons of mass destruction.

The forces of militarism are not concerned with the lives and prospects of the young generation; rather, they are concerned with devising lethal devices, such as third-generation nuclear weapons. These are weapons based on consolidating and multiplying the forces of individual types of destructive energy released by nuclear explosions—microwave, X-ray, infrared, and gamma radiation; thermal, luminous, and other types of energy; and the products of an explosion. Experts estimate that these weapons can be up to 1,000 times more effective than existing nuclear weapons.

The pursuit of armaments beyond all reason is an immense economic burden for the nations of the world. It literally drains them of their material resources and intellectual potentials. [passage omitted]

We must not allow mankind to become hostage to destructive weapons, technology, and those who control it. You, too, must more energetically and with youthful spontaneity raise your voices in support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, which carry hope for the future of mankind. People have to know and hear what our young generation thinks and how committed it is to the cause of peace.

The importance of this period is further accentuated by the fact that our society has entered a new stage in its development. Its most characteristic feature is that the possibilities of extensive development have been exhausted and that the advancement of the economy and the entire society is feasible only through comprehensive intensification. [passage omitted]

Our communist party is answering in a creative manner the challenge of the time. Proceeding from the jointly held position of the fraternal parties and, in particular, from the 27th CPSU Congress, the 17th CPCZ Congress worked out and approved the strategy of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country. [passage omitted]

As you know, an expression of the strategic line of acceleration is the long-term outlook for the development of our society through the year 2000. [passage omitted] Allow me now to make a few observations about the projection of this program into the conditions of the Slovak SR.

Building on the statewide tasks, our planners and scientific institutions are now working on two variants for the development of Slovakia up to the end of the millennium. Both projections foresee a greater economic dynamism in Slovakia than in the republic as a whole, in order to reach the same level of national income generated per inhabitant of working age statewide by the year 2000.

To get an idea of the magnitude of this task, let me mention that even the lower variant, which projects an annual growth of 4.8 percent, provides for a rise in the national income generated in the Slovak SR from

Kcs170 billion in 1985 to Kcs340-350 billion in the year 2000. The variant projecting an annual growth rate of 5 percent even provides for Kcs360 billion of national income by the year 2000. The congress laid down the task to double national income in the Slovak SR, compared with an increase by two-thirds for Czechoslovakia as a whole. As we can see, in only 15 years we want to achieve a higher increment in national income than had been achieved in Slovakia during its entire history up to the year 1985. [passage omitted]

This is a bold and challenging task. But even more remarkable, and of special interest to the young generation, is the new quality of this growth. Friends, let us ask ourselves—can we continue to focus economic development chiefly on metallurgy, heavy engineering, and bulk chemicals, as has been the case until recently? We definitely cannot. We cannot expect growing imports of expensive raw materials and energy, on which these branches depend. We must also remember that our country ranks among the highest in the world in the per-capita consumption of steel, iron, and energy. Yet not only these, but all our resources and potentials must be unconditionally utilized to a far greater extent. In other words, we must more resolutely travel the road of intensification, based on scientific-technical development, socialist economic integration, and the corresponding restructuring of the economy. [passage omitted]

The assertion of scientific-technical development will be encouraged by the new economic mechanism, and also by the centrally monitored programs with their comprehensive impact on the intensification of the economy. The general direction of scientific-technical development will require an adaptation of the scientific-research base. [passage omitted] By the year 2000 the proportion of scientists in research will increase from today's roughly 17 percent to 25-27 percent. The number of university and college graduates per 10,000 inhabitants will reach the level of advanced countries.

The new quality of growth also concerns the shift in the orientation of the development of branches toward, above all, engineering, electrical engineering, and electronics. Just for illustration: whereas in the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the electronics industry should grow by less than Kcs12 billion, for the years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan we project an increase by up to Kcs34 billion. The share of the Slovak electronics industry will increase from 31.9 percent to 35.3 percent of the statewide production volume. The need is becoming apparent to achieve in the coming decade a 4.6 fold growth in the production of electronic components; a 4.5 fold growth in computer technology; a 4.2 fold growth in the production of medical equipment; and a 7.5 fold growth in the measuring and control appliances. We will also be facing demanding tasks in investment and consumer electronics where already established or planned specialization programs will make us bear responsibility for the entire CSSR.

If we are to meet these targets, we have to assimilate new technologies of microelectronic elements—the gallium arsenide and optical electronics programs in the Tesla Piestany plant and the innovation of computers of the SMEP [stands presumably for "system of small electronic computers"] line in the Zilina Computer Technology Research Institute and the Banska Bystrica Computer Technology Plant. We will also have to come to terms with the innovation of medical electronic appliances, including the development of computerized body scanners in the Chirana economic production unit. A more rapid development of the production of color television sets with better utility properties and of compact disc players in the Tesla Consumer Electronics economic production unit must meet the growing needs of the population. High-performance electronics developed in the Electronic Research Institute attached to the Nova Dubnica Heavy Engineering Works must establish conditions for the development of robotics and comprehensive automation. [passage omitted]

Dear young friends,

Almost 1 and 1/2 years have passed since the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress and it is thus appropriate to ask—how do we implement the set targets and what results have we achieved?

If we looked at the results through the prism of the criteria used until now, we might perhaps be satisfied. But from the viewpoint of current needs and the increasingly keen competition in the world, they are unsatisfactory. We have made only scant progress in intensifying the economy, which is manifested in the inadequate growth of labor productivity, profitability, quality, and participation in socialist economic integration, and, on aggregate, in the generated national income. This development is at odds with the congress line.

What To Do, How To Continue? [subhead]

Of course, we could stick to the existing system, live from day to day, and not worry too much. Or—as some people will say—let us accept credit from the West, let us buy consumer goods, and all problems will disappear.

I would like to ask you—are these attitudes realistic, can they serve as a point of departure for us? They cannot. Because neither stagnation nor living on credit, at the expense of burdening the future and the sovereignty of the state, are worthy of the tradition of our nations and ethnic minorities, worthy of their abilities, talents, and industry. That is why the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium rejected such considerations and decided to implement an economic reform, as a promising and effective way of unfolding the creative potentials and abilities of our people, which we want to multiply through intensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

Along with you, I would like to pose yet another question: Would we be able to deal with the problems of the young generation by sticking to the old path? You surely know, comrades, that some socioeconomic measures favoring of young families have been taken in harmony

with the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress. Maternity leave has been extended and maternity benefits, allowances paid to those attending to a sick family member, and the ceiling of credits for newlyweds have been raised. These measures affect almost 350,000 young families and represent additional annual expenses of Kcs550 million.

We know, of course, that there are more immediate problems than that. We need more apartments for young families, better equipped schools, labs, clubs, and sports facilities, but also more opportunities to travel abroad, to spend vacation at the seaside. However, the solution to these problems at the level of the time calls for the creation of more resources, for a more marked increase in the generation of national income. In the interest of progress on these and other questions, in the interest of growing living standards, and in the interest of the general progress of society we must therefore restructure the economic mechanism to make better use of people's initiative and interest, and to exploit the great potentials of socialism.

You see yourselves, friends, that we have no other real alternative if we want progress in the economy and society as a whole. The party leadership arrived at it after thorough consideration, on the basis of a reexamination of our and foreign experiences, on the basis of inspiration from the bold and creative approach of Soviet Communists in theory and practice, and after considering our internal conditions, characterized essentially by unity between the party and the people and by the deepening of the party's leading role in society.

Important steps on the road to restructuring are the draft laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative movement, which are now the subject of lively debates. We want the greatest possible number of collectives to express their opinion on them so that people come to understand their importance and so that the documents express the reason and the experience of the working people. Work is also underway on the comprehensive program for restructuring the economic mechanism, which will soon be assessed by the party's Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The steps now being carried out in restructuring the economic mechanism are aimed at deepening socialist democracy not only in the sphere of the management of the economy but in our society in general. We bear in mind the fact that the strengthening of the independence and responsibility of work collectives is becoming, in fact, the material base of their self-management. It will serve as a strong impetus for their members to not only take an interest in the development of the situation in factories, in workshops, in organizations and voice their opinion on it, but also to participate in decision-making as responsible socialist managers. It is in this context that we must also perceive questions such as the role and the powers of the collectives in appointing senior managerial staff—directors, foremen. And it is quite logical that if such conditions and such an atmosphere are established in enterprises and organizations, this will also find an adequate reflection in the organism of the society as a whole, in the functioning of its agencies and institutions. In this entire sphere we must proceed from Lenin's thought that it is important that there should function not just "government for the people" but that "government by the people and through the people" should gain ground on the basis of the activity of the people's masses. In line with a Central Committee decision, measures are now being worked out to create conditions for the full commitment of the working man as a producer, manager, citizen, and ruler of his country. I would like to remark that this is also an impetus for young deputies in national committees and the representatives of the youth in social organizations to show greater activity. [passage omitted]

The changes being prepared create scope for your initiative, creativity, and healthy ambition, for true competition and for a trial of strength. On the other hand, they reduce the scope for favoritism, egalitarianism, anonymity, bureaucratism, and other malpractices which young people sharply criticize. [passage omitted] We are certain, dear boys and girls, that you will identify with the program of restructuring and will show personal commitment to put it into effect. The fact that, according to public opinion research, only one-half of young people questioned have become acquainted with the principles of restructuring shows that your union still has a lot to do in this respect.

Of course, we are just at the beginning of this revolutionary path, at the start of demanding and complicated work. It requires a lot of strength and responsibility from us, but it also brings with it adventure and many new, interesting, and romantic things, all things which are close to you, as well as hitherto unknown things, which call for new and more profound knowledge.

I would like to stress, furthermore, that we should not succumb to any myths or illusions, which, as the attitudes of some people suggest, do show up. What I have in mind is the idea that the restructuring of the economic mechanism is an all-powerful magic wand that will resolve everything. We know very well that it is always people, their interests and attitudes, their qualities, the firmness of their will, and the perseverance of their determination to assert a good cause, that are crucial for the success of a job. All this is, and will be, connected with a tough struggle; with a big fight. Young people must march in its front ranks. [passage omitted]

We all surely realize that the attainment of marked progress in quality and in intensification in general, that the fulfillment of our targets calls for bolder and faster practical application of the results of science and technology. [passage omitted]

The urgency of this task in Slovakia is demonstrated by the fact that when the CPSL Central Committee Presidium evaluated the results of the fulfillment of the plan of technical development for last year it had to note that 84

of the 213 research projects to reach application stage were not fulfilled, projects that were important for efficiency and quality growth. It is alarming, in view of the problems in the quality and technical standards of products with which we grapple, that we make insufficient use of licenses, for example. In the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan organizations administered by the Government of the Slovak SR accounted for only 15 percent of licenses purchased within the framework of Czechoslovakia and this adverse development continued even last year. [passage omitted]

There are many examples in Slovakia of an initiative-filled, creative, and searching approach by young people to the solution of complex tasks.

We greatly appreciate the development of 16-bit to 32-bit microcomputers of world parameters by youth collectives of the Computer Technology Research Institute in Zilina. At the same time, they cut the scheduled time for their development by 2 years. [passage omitted] Recognition should also be given to the collectives of young researchers in the Research Institute of Mechanization and Automation in Nove Mesto Nad Vahom, which developed and put into operation assembly lines for transistors in plastic capsules, thereby replacing embargoed imports. [passage omitted]

The acceleration of socioeconomic development places, and will place, ever higher demands on the young personality, on the political outlook, professional competence, and moral profile of young people.

In this connection we can note with gratification that the majority of our young people demonstrates with deeds its dedication to socialism, is erudite, bold, industrious, demanding, and optimistic, which is a big asset. [passage omitted]

However, in light of the demanding tasks it is our obligation to say that even among young people not everything is in order. You yourselves well know l that some of your peers set themselves low goals, or no goals at all. There are those who demand a lot but do not make any efforts themselves, do not study and work properly, and show no respect for values. We are alarmed by the growing consumption of alcohol and the spreading drug addiction and criminal offenses among young people. These phenomena, too, prompt us to permanently devote exceptional attention to educating the young generation and to shaping its character traits. [passage omitted]

There is no place here for students whose only aim is to sneak their way from one year to the next, as it were, whose only ambition is to get their certificate or diploma. It is definitely not in order when such attitudes are presented as heroism, when students who want to excel are being ridiculed or even harassed. I am saying this because we come across this phenomenon at both secondary schools and universities, where the number of students of average and mediocre performance has increased, while the number of students who complete their studies with honors has greatly declined. The number of students who do not complete their studies is disproportionately large. [passage omitted]

Neither can we be indifferent to the fact that in many youth clubs comprehensive educational and cultural activity is replaced with shallow entertainment, sometimes coupled with the consumption of alcohol. [passage omitted]

The questions concerning the education and activity of young people that we have touched upon are closely connected with the shaping of their world outlook. Life and experience teach us that even under the conditions of the socialist society man cannot be fully class-conscious, morally mature, and intellectually free without assimilating the Marxist-Leninist world view. Effective participation in the revolutionary feat of restructuring requires firm ideological positions, conviction about the correctness of the cause, and profound political and professional knowledge. [passage omitted]

That is why it is highly important to ponder how to rid ideological-educational work, also in your organization, of formalism, overorganization, academism, and other ailments from which, and I am sorry to have to say this, it still suffers. Above all, it is necessary to imbue this work with life and liveliness, to open up scope for discussion, dialogue, and polemics, as has already been said here. [passage omitted]

The strength, veracity, and lasting validity of Marxism-Leninism as a living doctrine can be seen quite distinctly today as revolutionary restructuring takes place in the USSR, with which Soviet Communists and the Soviet people directly build upon the grand achievements of October. This doctrine is strong in that it makes it possible to see and to overcome mistakes and because it is capable of constant evolution and of serving as a guide to the solution of tasks raised by the time. Restructuring in the Soviet Union, the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of the life of society, is a brilliant testimony to the innovative creative approaches, which the new CPSU leadership led by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev asserts in theory and in practice. It is a path of increasing the attractiveness of socialism, of strengthening it, and of raising it to a qualitatively new level, a path serving the cause of progress and the strengthening of peace.

Following the example of Soviet Communists, we, too, firmly travel this path, which is not only of internal, but of international significance. We cannot be deterred from this by difficulties, which accompany every great feat, nor by the doom-mongering voices of our enemies and ill-wishers. Naturally, the strengthening of socialism is not to their liking. That is why they are stepping up their attacks against our country, in connection with restructuring and the 40th anniversary of February. They cannot forget that the people deprived them of their privileges, of the chance to live off their work. They seek social revenge and therefore question the feasibility

of restructuring and its aims and accuse us of halfheartedness, inconsistency, and other sins. In this way they would like to divert our attention away from our tasks and disorient people, especially the youth, and drive them into the shell of indifference. But as in the past, even today their calculations will not transpire. The interest and active participation of our working people in the beginning restructuring of the economy, in the debate on the draft laws on the state enterprise and agricultural cooperatives, is a forceful reply to them. We are convinced that this interest and participation of the older and the young in restructuring will continue to grow. [passage omitted] This provides the best guarantee that the targets of restructuring will be met. [passage omitted]

The tasks we are talking about place great demands on the youth organization. You have accomplished a lot in the preceding period. The work of the Socialist Youth Union in Slovakia is on the whole successful, productive, and benefits both society and young people. [passage omitted]

The task now is for the Socialist Youth Union to continuously increase the attractiveness of its activities, to know the problems of the youth, and, as a friend of young people, to express and help establish conditions to meet the interests and needs of the young generation. The youth union must attentively monitor the pulse of the time and must not follow behind in anything. [passage omitted]

It must therefore constantly look for and find new ways to reach the young person, particularly apprentices and young workers, and attract even that segment of young people who associate in various informal groups. [passage omitted]

This calls for a change in the style of work in many respects, a demand that has rightly been raised at your congress. Authentic work with members and nonmembers must replace administrative and bureaucratic methods, pompous actions, or self-serving events. The majority of your members also rightly demands more democracy, open polemics, collectivism, and more profound research into the theory of youth movements. This bears out that young people realize the importance of a change of practices within their own ranks. [passage omitted]

U.S.-Soviet Missile Agreement Praised

AU221720 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Sep 87 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Good News From Washington"]

[Text] The news that came from Washington yesterday has been received with great satisfaction everywhere in our republic: The basic agreement of the Soviet Union and the United States on a treaty on the worldwide elimination of their medium-range nuclear missiles, which is to be signed at a summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in the fall, corresponds to the hopes engendered in the citizens of the GDR and the peoples all over our planet by the tireless Soviet initiatives for the conclusion of such an agreement. The GDR has made its contribution to this, because it has repeatedly stated that it is in favor of the fast and total disappearance—in both German states—of the nuclear weapons, this devilish equipment.

All those who have dedicated their hearts and hands to the elimination of the medium-range missiles can now note with pleasure and pride that it is worth devoting all one's strength to the cause of securing peace. As we have always stressed with great emphasis, in the nuclear age it is not only urgently necessary but also realistically possible to change from arms build-up to disarmament.

Because this agreement, which has been announced by the joint Soviet-U.S. statement at the end of the talks between the two countries' foreign ministers in the U.S. capital for as early as this fall, will be the first real step of nuclear disarmament since the era of nuclear weapons began with the inferno of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only we in the GDR expect that this first step, the elimination of the USSR and U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons, will be followed by others. It is very good that in their statement Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz have announced active efforts to work out a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons and gradual negotiations on the problem of nuclear tests. It is and remains our great goal to free the planet from all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century.

In Bonn, during his FRG visit, Erich Honecker referred to the comprehensive program for peace, security, disarmament, and detente adopted by the Warsaw Pact states at the Berlin summit. He said that our goal of a world without war and violence is not only a bold vision but a realistic possibility. The socialist states want to make peace with ever fewer weapons. By observing the principle of equality and equal security, they want to progress from zero option to zero option, no matter whether it concerns nuclear, chemical, or conventional arms.

The basic agreement of the Soviet Union and the United States on the treaty on medium-range weapons is a victory of the policy of reason and realism over those who have put arms build-up and confrontation on their banner. Obviously, in this decisive question the insight has gained ground that in a nuclear war there would be neither victors nor vanquished and that thus the arms race is leading mankind astray. In the nuclear age no one can gain security at the cost of the others, but all can and must ensure their security together, by means of disarmament and reliable arms control, by reducing military confrontation, creating confidence, and deepening international cooperation.

The joy about the good news from Washington does not delude us into illusions. It is only the announcement of a first step toward nuclear disarmament. The road to freeing our planet from all the devilish equipment is a long one. There is no reason to fold one's arms and do nothing. On the contrary: The forces of peace, reason, and realism have every reason to carry on their struggle more intensively and full of optimism so that the start of nuclear disarmament is followed by other, more extensive agreements. In this spirit, one must wish the summit between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan, which has been announced for this fall, every success.

USSR Environmental Delegation Visits

Forum Held

AU211412 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] A forum on the topic "Scientific-technological progress and environmental protection in the USSR" was held in the House of Soviet Science and Culture in East Berlin on Tuesday [15 September]. Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, recalled that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia 70 years ago has created the basis for new relations between man and nature. Pyotr Poletayev, deputy chairman of the Commission for Environment and Economical Use of Natural Resources attached to the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke about the organization, management, and development of environmental protection in the Soviet Union.

In the afternoon, specialists from the Academy of Sciences, from universities and technical schools, and other scientific institutions in five working groups discussed, among other things, the economical use of raw materials by applying low-waste and waste-free technologies, the protection of flora and fauna, as well as anti-pollution measures for the air, and the protection of forests. The participants of the meeting also had the opportunity to familiarize themselves at an exhibition with the tasks and results of the protection and the economical use of naturel resources in the USSR and GDR.

Received by Hans Reichelt

AU231120 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] At the end of its 6-day visit to the GDR, the Soviet delegation headed by Pyotr Poletayev, chairman of the

Commission for Environmental Protection and the Economical Utilization of Natural Resources attached to the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, was received by Hans Reichelt, GDR minister of environmental protection and water conservancy. The delegation familiarized itself with the shaping and protection of the natural environment in the GDR.

During the talk, the visitor from the Soviet Union assessed the lively and manifold exchange of experiences with scientists and university teachers from the Academy of Sciences and the Dresden Technical University, with communal politicians, workers, engineers, and economists from Leipzig, Dresden, Cottbus, and Rostock Bezirke as very successful and as a very important phase in the development of economic relations between the two countries and in the protection of natural resources.

Honecker Leaves on Visit to Bulgaria

LD230829 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0630 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 23 Sep (ADN)—A party and state delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, left this morning on an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It was invited by the BCP Central Committee and the Bulgarian Council of State.

The delegation includes Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR half of the Joint Commission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation; Guenter Sieber, director of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee; Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and chairman of the Council of State's Chancery; and Egon Rommel, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the GDR to Bulgaria.

The delegation was seen off at Berlin's Schoenefeld airport by SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Egon Krenz, Erich Mielke and Guenter Schabowski, and by Gerald Goetting; deputy chairman of the Council of State, Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen Manfred Flegel and Wolfgang Rauchfuss, and other figures. Bulgaria's acting charge in the GDR, Peter Vasilev, was also present.

FDGB Statement on Honecker FRG Visit

AU221600 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Sep 87 p 2

["Statement by the Presidium of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee on Erich Honecker's Official Visit to the FRG" entitled: "An Important Contribution to Ensuring Peace"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee has issued a statement in connection with Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG. It reads as follows:

The Presidium of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee appreciated the official visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG and fully endorsed its results. This visit is an important contribution to safeguarding peace, to disarmament, and to detente. The Presidium deems it fit to express, on behalf of the 9.5 million trade union members, warm thanks to the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and to the delegation members for their great work.

Millions of members of the FDGB followed the visit with keen interest. Despite continuously differing and opposing positions on basic sociopolitical issues, the results achieved and agreements concluded during the visit are designed to favorably influence the political atmosphere between the GDR and the FRG and, over and above that, the atmosphere in Europe. This is of noteworthy international significance, and is the fruit of the policy of reason and realism. It will benefit the peoples and peace.

Any kind of trade union activity and all support for its members would be in vain if a nuclear war devastated our globe. Halting the arms race and moving to disarmament, detente, and cooperation are the most important requirements of our time and a priority concern of trade unionists. Therefore, we attach great importance to the result of the visit whereby both German states—given their joint historical past—acknowledge their duty and responsibility to contribute to peace, disarmament, and detente in a particularly active way. That never again should war emanate from German soil, but only peace determines the thinking and action of our trade union members.

Therefore—despite the existence of different positions—the dialogue for a life in peace must continue and so must the dialogue between the trade unions of the two German states. The progress and the results of the visit Erich Honecker paid to the FRG mark an important stage in the GDR's long-term policy of peaceful coexistence with the FRG. They are proof of the strength of its peace policy and of its increasing international influence.

The Presidium of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee stresses that the trade unions will increase their efforts to continue to successfully implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and of the 11th FDGB Congress in order to strengthen the GDR, our worker-peasant state, from all points of views.

Commentary on Jaruzelski Visit

AU231150 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 87 p 2

[Commentary: "GDR and PPR Strengthen Cooperation"]

[Text] Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski on Wednesday [17 September] continued their traditional friendly meetings with another encounter in our republic: Barely 1 and 1/2 years after the SED and PZPR congresses, which outlined the targets for a new epoch in both neighboring socialist countries, and exactly in a situation in which, through a possible USSR-U.S. agreement on the global double-zero option for medium-range nuclear missiles, the great chance of initiating concrete disarmament is opening up.

The range of issues discussed at Jagdschloss Hubertusstock was characterized by this. It encompassed mutual information on results in the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and 10th PZPR Congress on bilateral cooperation in all spheres, including key issues of international politics. The joint deliberations focused on the importance of the firm friendship between the GDR and PPR, of their fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, of their cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA for socialist construction in both countries, to safeguard peace, and for security in Europe.

The balance sheet of cooperation since the last meeting of that kind between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, which took place in Poland in December 1985, is a positive one. As a result of the agreements concluded at the time, friendly relations have expanded notably. This is particularly true for the trusting cooperation between the fraternal countries in the spirit of socialist internationalism, which is and continues to be, the decisive basis for the overall strengthening and intensification of relations. The effect of the manifold working contacts at all levels, particularly direct relations between the party organizations of enterprises, is to be further increased. Direct cooperation between combines, production associations, and enterprises is proving itself. By solving joint tasks in science, technology, and production, the collaboration in the sphere of key technologies—enabling a faster increase in labor productivity and the saving of raw materials and energy—is expanded in a comprehensive manner. The dynamics of the trade exchange increases.

At the Hubertusstock meeting there was special emphasis on cooperation between people's representative bodies, state organs, friendly parties, and social organizations, and on partnerships between enterprises and voivodships, on the Oder-Neisse peace frontier in particular. Special mention was made of the unique children's and youth exchange which will be expanded and regulated by a state agreement and which is a significant contribution to deepening the friendship between both peoples, of the exchange of vacationers within the trade unions, of tourism which is to be expanded step by step, of the joint actions of social scientists, and of the manifold exchanges in the spheres of culture, science, and information. All this contributes to making both peoples more familiar with the achievements of the other.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski have emphatically expressed the hopes and expectations of both peoples that the negotiations between the USSR and the United States may lead to an agreement on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles as soon as possible. On this occasion they affirmed the full support of both states for the Soviet initiative to improve the international climate, to eliminate nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, to prevent the militarization of space, and to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons. Both countries do not ignore the fact that the most aggressive militaristic and revanchist forces are doing everything to obstruct real progress, but their assessment of the situation is that the active policy of the states of the socialist community and the attitude of the forces of reason and realism in the world have created a chance for a breakthrough in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

The following conclusion can be drawn: The SED and PZPR, the GDR and PPR will work with all their strength for the consistent implementation of the collective comprehensive disarmament program which was decided upon at the Berlin meeting of our alliance's Political Consultative Committee. This comprises the activities of the GDR, together with those of the CSSR, to set up a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapons-free zone, and the Jaruzelski plan to reduce weapons and increase confidence in central Europe by thinning out nuclear and conventional potentials step by step. The fraternal states' initiative for such regional steps are aimed at limiting the risk of conflicts and military confrontation and at increasing the confidence between states. As could be seen in Hubertusstock, this is meeting with broad international response.

The GDR and PPR have always regarded their friendship across the Oder-Neisse peace frontier as a basic element of security and cooperation on our continent. The party and state leaders spoke emphatically in favor of deepening the process initiated by the Helsinki Final Act, of preparing a substantial final document at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, of an agreement on the early opening of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Of course, Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG from which he returned a few days ago, played a central role in the meeting between the party and state leaders of the GDR and PPR. Its impact and significance for strengthening security and peace in Europe was underlined by both sides. The GDR and PPR are both aiming at the further development of their relations with the FRG on an equal basis, in keeping with the generally recognized standards of international law, while respecting the territorial and

political realities in Europe, and on the basis of the treaties concluded between the two states and the FRG. The interlocutors expressed satisfaction that, in the joint communique on Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG, the principle of the inviolability of borders and the recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in Europe was affirmed as the fundamental condition for peace.

In this connection it was stressed in Hubertusstock that the GDR and PPR, in coordination with their Warsaw Pact allies, will direct their efforts toward stabilizing East-West relations and lending fresh impulses to peaceful cooperation among the European states in all spheres. By continuing and enhancing political dialogue with states with other social systems they want to contribute to bringing about disarmament and security, to normalizing relations between states and to the achievement of trusting cooperation.

As in the past, this meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski in the spirit of traditional friendship has also contributed essentially to the coordination of cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples on both sides of the Oder and Neisse in shaping socialism in both countries and in the struggle to safeguard peace.

Tisch Meets CSSR Trade Union Chief Zavadil

AU221725 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, held a friendly talk with Miroslav Zavadil, chairman of the CSSR Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) and member of the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, in Berlin on Wednesday. The two sides briefed each other about current trade union tasks in the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, of the 17th CPCZ Congress, and of those under their trade union congresses. They held lengthy talks about the trade unions' active contribution to the struggle for peace and disarmament, and for preventing a nuclear inferno, and about issues of the international trade union movement.

They had a constructive exchange of experience and views about enhancing the role of trade unions in the further progress of the developed socialist society.

The talk took place in an atmosphere of complete agreement on all issues discussed.

Stoph Receives Netherlands Parliamentarians

LD212229 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Sep (ADN) — Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received for a talk on Monday the Netherlands parliamentary delegation led by the President of the first chamber, professor Dr Pieter Steenkamp, which is in the GDR at the invitation of the GDR People's Chamber. Willi Stoph explained the GDR's constructive peace policy to the guests. As once again confirmed by the visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG, the GDR works actively for the preservation of peace, arms control, and disarmament in purposeful political dialogue with all forces of reason and realism. Referring to the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, the chairman of the Council of Ministers underlined that the session submitted important proposals which open the only feasible path for the future of mankind in ending the arms race as soon as possible and implementing effective disarmament steps in all spheres.

Willi Stoph expressed satisfaction about the flourishing and all-round development of relations between the GDR and the Netherlands, which have received new, important impetus in particular from the visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR state Council, to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The development of traditional and friendly cooperation between the two parliaments is suited, over and above the bilateral framework, to contributing to greater stability and trust in Europe. The chairman of the council of Ministers informed his guests about the GDR's stable political and dynamic economic development. It not only provides the guarantee for the continuing purposeful increase in the people's prosperity, but also forms the basis for the deepening and expansion of both sides [as received] to the benefit of advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

In the talk, the Netherlands parliamentarians were briefed in detail about the close link between economic and social development and the comprehensive measures for the utilization of the natural resources and nature and environmental protection in the GDR.

The president of the first chamber of the states-general praised the relations between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the GDR as free of complications and productive for both sides. He announced the readiness to actively support in future the contacts between the two countries' parliaments in the interests of safeguarding peace and trusting cooperation as well as the all-round development of bilateral cooperation.

The talk was attended by Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and GDR minister of environmental protection and the water economy; and by Wolfgang Heyl, member of the GDR People's Chamber presidium. Carel Schneider, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the GDR, was present.

GDR Military Delegation Arrives in Vienna

LD211931 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Vienna, 21 Sep (ADN)—A delegation of the GDR National People's Army headed by Colonel General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister of national defense,

arrived in Vienna on Monday. The deputation was received at the Austrian Federal Ministry for National Defense by General Dr Peter Corrieri, head of the arms, acquisition, and supply section. During its visit of several days, the delegation will be briefed on technical and logistic issues of the Federal Austrian Army and visit relevant establishments.

Krolikowski Talks With Swedish Official

LD031916 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 3 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 3 Sep (ADN) — The GDR and Sweden are making an important contribution toward securing peace and toward the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. This was stressed during a talk in Berlin today between Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Mrs Birgitta Dahl, minister of energy and environment of Sweden.

During the meeting the parties to the conversation paid tribute to the continual development of relations between the two states, which have reached a high level and are undergoing constant development in the spirit of goodneighborliness and mutual trust, in particular since the memorable meeting between Erich Honecker and Olof Palme in June, 1984.

Werner Krolikowski and Birgitta Dahl stressed the fact that it is only in peace that preconditions exist to accomplish the tasks of rational utilization and protection of natural resources within the national and international framework.

The parties to the conversation stressed the great importance of attaining an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a global double-zero solution for nuclear medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. With satisfaction, the "Olof Palme Peace March" currently taking place in the GDR is stressed as an important international event "for a nuclear weapons-free corridor — for a nuclear weapons-free year 2000." The two sides paid tribute to the positive development of bilateral cooperation in environmental protection, for example in drinking water preparation and treatment of sewage, the application of technologies with low waste byproducts, clean air technologies, countryside, and nature protection.

Turkish Military Maneuvers Observed

LD211353 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0843 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Ankara, 21 Sep (ADN)—Officers of the National People's Army, Lieutenant Colonel Dieter Hantuschke and Commander Werner Schanner, are present as observers at the "Mehmetcik" exercise of the Turkish Armed Forces which started today. The presence of the GDR officers is in accordance with the accords of the Stockholm conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Stoph, Indian Industry Minister Hold Talks

LD211932 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Sep (ADN)—An identical interest in the preservation of world peace, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and in moving toward disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, were expressed during talks in Berlin today by GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph and Indian Industry Minister Vengala Rao. They paid tribute to the policy of the nonaligned states, in which India plays an important role, which is aimed at these objectives.

Willi Stoph, explained the GDR peace policy which, through constructive political dialogue with all forces of reason and realism in the world, makes a contribution to disarmament and peoples' peaceful coexistence.

Minister Rao heads the Indian delegation attending the seventh session of the GDR/India joint committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The two sides praised the successful development of friendly relations and the two states' close cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields. They emphasized the positive results of the work of the joint economic committee, which is proving to be an effective instrument in the long-term development of relations in the fields of trade, industry, and science and technology. The main directions for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation were discussed in detail.

Axen Receives Algerian Official

LD222149 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Berlin, 22 Sep (ADN)—Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Abderrazak Bouhara, member of the Permanent Secretariat of the FLN [National Liberation Front] responsible for international relations, paid tribute in Berlin today to the agreement in principle between the United States and the USSR on the elimination of their medium-range nuclear missiles as a first step toward nuclear disarmament and a powerful impetus for more far-reaching steps. Bouhara is heading a delegation from the Algerian FLN party. The parties agreed on the need to end the arms race on earth and prevent its spread to space.

Hermann Axen pointed to the close connection between the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist GDR and its committed support for peace and disarmament. The GDR is thereby making an active contribution to fulfilling the socialist states' peace program. The SED supports the coming together of the forces of reason and realism across the ideological spectrum in the struggle to prevent a nuclear inferno. Both politicians assessed Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG as a significant contribution to the consolidation of peace as well as to detente and disarmament. Tribute was paid to the good state of relations between the GDR and Algeria.

Honecker Receives Mexican, Nigerian Envoys

LD211955 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received today the ambassadors of Mexico and Nigeria to accept their letters of credence. Ambassador Raul Valdes Aguilar conveyed cordial greetings from Mexican President de la Madrid which were as cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker. In the subsequent talk the high level of bilateral relations was praised and the conviction expressed that cooperation for the safeguarding of world peace will deepen further.

In the talk with the Nigerian ambassador, Edward Martins, it was agreed that the highest priority of political action has to be directed at safeguarding and consolidating peace.

Tisch Receives Trade Union Delegation

AU230754 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 87 p 5

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive, invited the heads of delegations to the international vocational conference for a meeting in Berlin on Thursday [17 September]. In his speech he described the conference as an important contribution to understanding and to an exchange of experiences related to key issues of representing trade union interests. The outcome of this conference can help to convey even greater significance to joint and parallel actions in the struggle for detente and disarmament, to maintain and preserve peace. It is necessary to use trade union strength in work to put an end to the arms race on earth and prevent it spreading into outer space. He said that the materialization of the hopes for peace on the continent are the basic prerequisite for the trade unions' fruitful work to improving living conditions for the working man.

Harry Tisch underscored the importance of the proposals of the Soviet Union and the states of the socialist community which allow one to embark upon nuclear disarmament. This chance must not be lost, Tisch noted. On the GDR side there is a readiness to further develop and deepen political dialogue and the economic and scientific-technical relations, in the interest of people living together in peace. The official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, was also proof of this, he said.

LDPD, FDP Representatives Meet in E. Berlin

AU041924 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN) — On Wednesday [2 September] Armin Behrendt, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic party of Germany (LDPD), received in Berlin for a talk a delegation of the FDP groups in the Lower Saxony Diet (FRG), headed by its chairman Martin Hildebrandt. The talk focused on questions of safeguarding peace, developing the relations between the two German states, and other questions of mutual interest. The talk took place in a businesslike and open-minded atmosphere.

The FDP politicians stayed in the GDR on an informative visit.

Kadar Speech to National Assembly
AU211001 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 87 pp 4-6

[Unattributed version of speech by MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar to the National Assembly meeting in Budapest on 16 September: "Janos Kadar: We Should Help the Cause of Socialism with Deeds and Political Determination"]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly!

Aware of the work program of the Council of Ministers, and having now heard Comrade Premier Karoly Grosz, it is my conviction that the analysis of our situation is accurate and the designation of the main tasks is correct. The government's work program up to 1990 connects well with the party's program of economic and social development formulated on 2 July. Therefore, I accept the government's program and I also propose it for acceptance on behalf of the Central Committee.

I would like to stress that I—and I think all the people who followed this process with attention—highly appreciate the large-scale, dynamic, and thorough preparation work carried out by the government in the course of formulating its program, and the wide range of consultations the government held with the people responsible for the most varied areas of society. It is my conviction that the work program deserves confidence and support!

We Speak Openly About Reality [Subhead]

The submitted work document and the expose presented by Comrade Grosz essentially deal with every important issue; therefore, I want to speak now only about some essential issues. Before that, however, let me remind you of the fact that, many years ago I also addressed the National Assembly on behalf of what was then the new party and government leadership. Although it is impossible to compare the situation at the time with the current situation, it is a fact that it was not easy at that time either. I said at that time — also on behalf of my comrades—that people who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of leadership do not want to dominate or rule, but want to serve the cause of socialism and the interests of the people! I stressed at that time that, if we speak about the affairs of the country, our task is to speak about reality, to speak the truth, and not to say nice things. If you thoroughly evaluate the party's position of 2 July on the economic and social development, the work program of the Council of Ministers submitted here, and the prime minister's words regarding this program, I think that you can say openly that the country's leadership continues to speak openly about reality, and is telling the truth. We cannot give this up and we have to maintain this practice.

The essential features of our current situation are well known. The main characteristic of our current situation is that the absolutely necessary change in economic activity has not occurred. Our budget deficit has increased and so have our debts. All this demands immediate action and determined measures from both the country's leaders and its people.

We Did Not Adjust to the Circumstances [Subhead]

What are the circumstances that have led to our current situation? This question was also often voiced during the wide-range public debate. Let us begin to answer by saying—and this is already an entire historical phase—that laying the foundations of the socialist society concluded with the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Extensive development, by which we were able to use considerable amounts of raw materials and manpower in construction work, prevailed for some time. These reserves, however, gradually became exhausted, and we had to switch to the intensive phase of socialist construction. This shift, which we also pointedly called for previously, is slow.

The other factor that led to the emergence of the current situation is the oil price explosion of 1974 and its numerous consequences. Hungary's international economic conditions changed considerably as a result. New sectors appeared parallel with the oil price explosion, and new power relations emerged from various points of view in international economic life. We did not size up the situation up in time and did not examine thoroughly enough the way these new phenomena of the world economy affected our economic activity. We did not adjust to these external conditions by modifying our economic structure and by changing our products—at least, not at the people's economic level. All this means that the quality of our products does not fulfill the requirements of the international market and of domestic consumption.

All this—and Comrade Grosz also mentioned it—raises the question of responsibility. We have indeed a collective leadership in our party. In the implementation of tasks, along with individual responsibility, there is also the responsibility of various organs. If we consider the time spent by someone in these organs, then probably I also have a good share of this responsibility, because I also accepted and voted in favor of the various plans.

As regards the issue of responsibility, I think the most important thing is to learn from the mistakes and draw the necessary conclusions. The work program of the Council of Ministers does that.

We Must Learn from the Mistakes [Subhead]

What were the mistakes made by the party and government leadership? First of all, the fact that we regarded the changes in international economic conditions—changes that were unfavorable for us—as temporary and transitory. Besides, we were not the only ones to make mistakes—many other countries did the same. Then, to some extent we also adopted the wrong concept according to which world economic changes do not have a considerable effect on the economic activity of the

socialist countries. This was a serious mistake. We must speak about this precisely, because of the lessons that we can learn from it.

It is also true that we maintained a medium pace of development both in production and in the standard of living for quite a few years. This, of course, led to spectacular results in improving living conditions and in consumer goods—even puzzled our socialist partners. Today, we can already see that it was a mistake to maintain this pace of development. There was no question of our dictating some type of senseless rate of development, because, according to the statistics, we were somewhere in the middle among the CEMA countries in this respect. This rate of development, however, was not founded. I will also mention another type of mistake, which has essentially been hampering our system ever since we started on the road of socialist development. What am I talking about? The fact that we declared our achievements and ordered the payment of benefits and bonuses—including free general education, free health care as every citizen's right, and many other things—before creating the financial basis for all this. It follows from this that we were unable to assert our declared achievements fully. The people's economic planning is a good example of this practice. On the basis of multilateral considerations, we worked out the 5-year plans and the annual plans—in too much detail, and our 40-year-old planning system will have to change that too—and then implementation followed.

We always fulfilled our targets concerning "expenditures," and even overfulfilled them most of the time, but we did not fulfill our targets concerning "revenue." This led to the situation where we consumed and distributed more than we actually produced. This went on for many years, and it seems that this continues to be a weak point of our system. We cannot continue this practice.

Among the aforementioned mistakes, I would deal separately with the fact that we were unable to adjust adequately and in time to the international economic processes. We made our situation more difficult on the world market by being extremely slow in carrying out structural and product changes. Our products lost their value and, because of other reasons, they could often only be sold with difficulty and below their real value.

Here comes the press—particularly forceful in the West but also at home—and often making comparisons. Journalists say and write that "of course, the United States, the FRG, and Japan are capable of quickly and efficiently changing their economic structure." This is true, but the comparison is not fair. The above mentioned countries are indeed able to change their product structure more quickly than Hungary. But this is so not because the Hungarian leadership did not recognize the need for such a change. Several factors should be taken into consideration when comparing, among them the fact that capitalist exploitation—even if we use this expression more rarely—continues to have an effect on the capitalist countries, and it is also true that—with various means and methods—the most developed capitalist countries deplete the developing world, and even the socialist countries to some extent.

But let us also think of other facts. The fact that, although there is a capitalist social order in a large part of the world, it does not mean that every country is at the same level of development as the aforementioned three or four leading capitalist countries. Structural change in these countries is extremely simple. If an industrial branch begins to make losses, it will be cut back, and tens and hundreds of thousands of people are dismissed. Unemployment is increased without boundaries, and prices are increased exclusively on the basis of supply and demand. They do not feel ashamed of an inflation phase or a radical reduction in their standard of living either. This also belongs to the capitalist image.

The expression "welfare state" also went out of fashion when complex and difficult years began there, and when there was a need for the stabilization and modification of the production structure.

For the Conditions of Rational Economic Activity [Subhead]

There is no need to explain why socialism cannot follow this road, even if ours is the more difficult one. I would like to stress a key sentence in the Central Committee Position of July which, in my opinion, contains the essence of our entire program.

Our tasks—and I am talking now only about ourselves, although this can be interpreted also in a wider sense—is to create the conditions of rational and efficient economic management by maintaining the humane basic principles of the socialist order. Without this, the undeniable advantages inherent in socialism cannot develop.

It is also very important to note that our task is a historically new one and we have not yet found the ways and methods to implement it. I am convinced that we will find the right way and the correct methods, and the changes needed in the economic life will be carried out by preserving our socialist principles and taking them into consideration.

It is true that the pace of development is still slow, but socialism continues to develop. Work is at the basis of this development. The establishment is founded on the economy. If we want to create a secure future for socialism—and that is what we want to do—then we have to build a firmer economic foundation. This is the historical problem which we have failed to solve so far. Together with us, the entire socialist world is searching for the ways to solve this problem. Some countries are doing this more firmly and faster, others perhaps slower.

It was often voiced in the debates—and not completely without justification—that the necessary reforms occasionally came to a sudden stop and then gained momentum again, and that there has been inconsistency in this

area. I can declare on behalf of the Central Committee that we have never intended to halt the reform process and we have been advancing on our road firmly and purposefully. But, it is impossible to quite simply assert the general economic requirements in socialism. We have been, and are encouraging our economists to work and carry out research, and to draw valuable scientific conclusions; but determining what to realistically introduce and how to do it continues to be the very serious and responsible task of the party and country leadership.

There are, of course, other problems in our work. Sometimes, for example, we make things ideological and political when we should not. Here we are talking also about larger issues like, for example, interests. Our party and government had the courage to declare in time that, although there are no antagonistic classes in our society, there are, however, different real interests, and these different interests sometimes clash with each other. We have to take these factors into consideration; coordination of different social, group, and individual interests is a continuous task.

We often refer, for example, to the people's consciousness, ideology, and thinking, but we cannot disregard their personal interests either. If the two are constantly clashing with one another, we cannot progress. I think that our leadership took very firm measures in this area, but there were also cases where we created a political issue unnecessarily. As an example, I can mention the concept of profit. At the beginning, it was not very advisable to mention this concept. It is my deep conviction that, in every society which produces goods, it is necessary to apply identical norms and means of evaluation irrespective of the social order. Thus, the requirement that, in a socialist country, which is engaged in the production of goods, enterprises should work profitably is not an ideological or political issue. This is not contradictory to socialism. On the contrary, it is particularly important for a higher social order to carry out an efficient economic activity. Therefore, this is not an ideological issue, nor should we make one out of it.

I am convinced that the government's work program is a firm step in the direction I have formulated above: to create the conditions of efficient and rational economic activity by taking into consideration the principles of the socialist order. I call upon the National Assembly to support this activity, knowing that time is urging us to carry out deeds.

Planned Economic Activity by Taking into Consideration Market Laws [Subhead]

Esteemed National Assembly!

The Central Committee position of 2 July contained the general requirements concerning the activity of the people's economy. I will not describe them in detail now. Their essence is that the conditions for economic and social development are the following: a socialist planned economy which takes into consideration the laws of a rationally regulated and constructed market; the consistent continuation of the economic reforms; and the development of socialist ownership forms.

We should promote the concentration of capital, as there should be no dead capital in the country. We should enable the prosperous enterprises which have made honest profits, to invest their financial assets to develop their own production or for improving the activity of other enterprises with which they are in contact. The workers of production collectives should be given the opportunity to become joint owners of their enterprise or cooperative by purchasing company stocks or by some other sufficient manner.

We have to examine these issues and then introduce the possible and realistic changes firmly and courageously. We have to be similarly determined in that there is a need for private artisans and private retail trade—of course, not for profiteering—in the socialist order, viewed from an historical perspective. We should encourage and help the activity of such ventures. The majority of the means of production is public property in Hungary. I stress that we also advanced here when we declared that state and cooperative property are equal socialist properties without discrimination. It must be clear that, under such conditions, the private artisans, private retail trade, and the private services do not threaten the country's socialist character but contribute to the solution of economic issues and the creation of better living conditions for the people. Therefore, we support their activity and I must add that I agree with the relevant points of the government program.

For years, great debates have been going on concerning the rights of the various forms of ancillary economic activities to exist. Among these, the most widespread form is the household agricultural activity. We continue to support these household plots firmly and vigorously. The various enterprise and other economic business partnerships that emerged in industry and in services are effectively contributing to the country's economic activity. The contradictions concerning their role and their activity will gradually disappear, but of course, we should make sure that these organizations are also carrying out orderly activity.

In connection with this, I would like to remind you that we have a tradition of several decades of socialist work competition movement, a movement enjoying great public respect. Many people remember that the idea to establish socialist brigades came from the workers, and a very good large-scale movement has thus emerged. Nowadays, the question often arises whether these socialist brigades are still needed and what their future will be. Of course they are needed! They can become the new driving force behind progress because in the same way the enterprise leadership can assign tasks to the enterprise work partnerships, the socialist brigades can also be given assignments, for example, on a contractual basis. There are already examples of such contracts and it is worth pursuing this initiative: to sign a work agreement

which stipulates the task and the remuneration for the implementation of this task. Therefore we have reserves and possibilities in this respect too.

Esteemed National Assembly!

From the group of tasks determined by the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers until the end of 1990 program emphasizes the first phase, the phase of stabilization. It cannot be otherwise because this is the only way we can create better conditions for development. As Comrade Grosz said, the most important task is to halt certain unfavorable processes, consolidate the economic foundations, and to create a harmony between production and consumption.

Stabilization Involves Burdens [Subhead]

This latter requirement should also be taken into consideration in timing these processes: Goods should be produced first and distributed afterwards, and not the other way round. Comrade Grosz discussed all this clearly, openly, and firmly, and this is the way it should be. The stabilization phase involves burdens. It also requires sacrifices, as formulated in the document: The temporary reduction in public and private consumption is inevitable. A balanced situation cannot be created otherwise.

Another inevitable task mentioned by the government program is the need to regroup the means of production and live labor into more competitive sectors and enterprises. It also derives from this that low-efficiency production that consumes the country's economic assets should be curbed and eventually eliminated. These are two sides of the same process and, for this reason, it involves strong differentiation. About regrouping the live labor, I would say only that our Constitution guarantees the right to work and today, there is full employment in Hungary. This will be the case in the future too, but with a considerable manpower regrouping. Characteristic of today is that there is manpower in certain production sectors and units, but this manpower is not employed efficiently. Due to certain management mistakes, in many places there are people employed who were once hired in order to be able to pay good workers a little more. This is not the way to conduct an efficient economic activity because, at the same time, in certain sectors—in services, for example, there is a great manpower shortage.

Therefore, the right to work is not identical with the right to a workplace. Only people who work honestly at their workplace and whose activity the people's economy needs should remain at their workplace. Of course, manpower regrouping should be assisted with adequate measures; thus, in certain places, no doubt there is also need for the retraining of manpower. I am not precisely familiar with the relevant concrete plans, but I would not suggest that the government itself maintain institutions of manpower retraining. This cannot be carried out rationally at the government level. I would even dare say that this way, there would be many people who have finished even six courses and are still not working... Therefore, retraining should be the task of the industrial sector in question, or better even, the task of the enterprise or institute in question, because they know best what manpower they need and thus both the content and duration of retraining can adjust to the concrete requirements.

Myself, I cannot avoid, dealing with an issue which—although belongs to the stabilization phase—the National Assembly will discuss as the next point of its agenda. The draft bill on the two new types of tax—particularly that of the personal income tax— has already been thoroughly discussed in their preparatory phase. I would like to add to this only that the main function of the general turnover tax is to encourage production rather than consumption. I think neither a community nor an individual need particular incentives for consumption—particularly if they have money to spend; incentives are all the more needed, however, for production. This is precisely the function of the new tax system.

The preliminary debates on the tax reform showed that the new tax forms, particularly the personal income tax, did not generate great pleasure among the people. I think this is natural; I do not remember any example in history—no matter in what social order—when the people cheered the introduction of a personal income tax. But we must be aware of the fact that if these two tax forms were not on the agenda of the National Assembly today, then, beginning with 1 January 1988, we would be obliged to considerably limit public and population consumption. The two tax forms include elements in our economic system which are meant to facilitate the implementation of our goals. The two tax forms are inseparable, and this should be stressed because there were opinions according to which we should introduce only one of them. This is not possible.

The general turnover tax will make the economy easier to survey and will thus help us to obtain a clearer picture of it. This is necessary because various relations are not always clear. Today, for example, the enterprises are in slightly better shape than the country itself. Most of them are profitable, but the elements that make up their profit are complex and in many cases, the government cannot even explain them precisely. There are also "clever" enterprise managers who can create a situation in which even state subsidies are used to increase the profits of the enterprise or factory in question.

Price increases are also an important subject. There are often real reasons for these price increases. It is a worldwide phenomenon that in the case of most products' modern production price increases are involved. But in Hungary—and now I am talking about producer prices—price increases have not always been justified. It also happened in certain factories that the consumer was made to pay for both poor work and poor management. This is unacceptable.

As for the general turnover tax, we often use the value-added concept in connection with this. This means that an enterprise can plan its profits only in proportion with its real production and real performance and can only include net expenditures in the price of products. Comrade Grosz was right to mention the fact that certain producer and consumer prices should be settled in January, but the increase in producer prices should slow down in the coming years—as a result of the new tax system and a having a clearer picture of the economy. The population will also benefit from this because producer price developments cannot be separated from consumer price developments. These price changes will have a favorable effect if they are carried out precisely and in a controlled way.

We should encourage efficient production [subhead]

I do not want to deal with personal income tax in detail. The essential thing about it is that both general turnover tax and personal income tax are intended to encourage efficient production and to make sure that the available manpower is employed where it is most needed. This cannot be achieved simply by administrative means, but only if we guarantee that where people work efficiently and produce goods which the country needs for domestic consumption and for export, people will earn more. Just as we appreciate the profitability and the increase in income of enterprises that work well, so the wages of workers employed in these enterprises should increase more than in other places. Higher wages also attract people to such enterprises.

A fair tax burden is right and proper. This is closely connected with the requirement that wages and income increase according to performance; in other words; he who works better should earn more, and he who is below average should earn less than the average. There is no other way if we want to create a better economic situation. If things turn out this way, then it is obvious—and it will also be fair—that every citizen will have to help to bear the burden in proportion to his or her income. Therefore, if someone earns a lot as a result of his work, so be it, but he should also bear more of the burden than others. There can be no exceptions in taxation. We can help people who find themselves in a difficult situation but there is no way we can make exceptions, because if we started making exceptions, there would be no end to it. Everyone has to pay taxes.

I would like to say a few words about accepting sacrifices. I would like to join Comrade Grosz and Bishop Kurti in their claim that the situation and time is urging us to take measures, and this cannot be done without sacrifices. There must be different thinking and a new approach, a different and new relation to work. This is the real "acceptance of sacrifices." We know that we have to make more clear-cut and real sacrifices; this is inevitable. We have to take this step because we have no other choice. However, it is also part of the necessary measures that the government will consider the social issues in accordance with the possibilities, and will see to it that adequate help is provided for those members of society that are in need.

It has also been said here that public opinion is divided today. I know that this is really so. But I know the [words illegible], workers and peasants, who say that if we have to make sacrifices, then let us make these sacrifices but let us get our affairs in order to fix the honest majority of the country's population thinking this way—irrespective of their vocation of profession, workers, cooperative peasants, employees, intellectuals, and others.

Reducing Bureaucracy [Subhead]

The issue of the state and public apparatus is also on the agenda and was mentioned in the report. The bureaucracy in the state administration and in other areas too should be reduced at all costs. By other areas, I mean our entire system of institutions, the party, as well as the various public organizations. We should examine how to eliminate sluggish administration and idling areas. I think that the correct order is that we should first examine the function and the sphere of authority, because, no doubt, we can also rationalize work there too, as the existing bureaucracy is partly the result of work which—although carried out—is useless and shows no tangible results. The functions and sphere of authority of the administration should be re-evaluated and then the staff should be examined. It does not work the other way round. Simple "decimation" has never eliminated any kind of bureaucracy. According to statistics, the staff of the administration apparatus in Hungary is not too numerous as a whole, compared with other countries, but it has already grown more than necessary. It can be reduced with the clear aim of making these bodies work with more clear-cut, carefully considered, genuine, and useful tasks. There is need for a smaller administration apparatus in the future, but definitely a better paid one.

Much is said nowadays about preserving public property and preventing waste and damage. I would like to mention only one example in this connection: as a result of fires, there was a total of 220 million forints worth of damage in the first half of the current year. I do not even dare mention the relevant data of the first half of last year. If you look into the reasons behind the damage and the fires, you will find mostly human negligence as the main cause: a sloppy electrical installation, disregarded welding regulations, an electric heater left operating. This is unacceptable. There is need for a different public behavior and approach in both small and large matters, to mention only the need to halt the sources of income gained without work or to adequately punish economic crimes.

Comrade Grosz spoke about cadre affairs, but I would also like to deal with it. There is, indeed, a need for a different approach to cadre affairs, [words illegible] predominate rather than "romantic" and "mystic" elements. Every leader—and, of course, I do not just mean

national leaders—should be appreciated in a uniform way, according to how they fulfill their tasks and the results they get. The country cannot afford leaders who fall short of these requirements. It is not enough to say about someone that he is "a good comrade".

A good comrade is one who is able to contribute to socialist construction with deeds, and when necessary, take a stand politically for the cause of socialism. I regard this as valid for the communists. There are many good people and one of our problems, or one of the reasons for bad implementation, is precisely the fact that everyone would like to be "a good man," to assign tasks, demand implementation, and be demanding—and some people do not like this. There is great need for this today! Believe me, only in this way can a leader achieve real appreciation among the workers. An enterprise leader who is satisfied with illusory popularity and who claims that he "does not feel like demanding the work to be done," can or could destroy entire enterprises.

Open and Democratic Cadre Work [Subhead]

The question of dealing with cadre affairs has changed over the years and in this respect, therefore, we should deal with cadre affairs openly and democratically. The system of multiple nominations is already operating with the election of deputies. The new enterprise management bodies are already more democratic because these are elected by the working collective and work under its supervision. Therefore, there is no need for any kind of mystification in dealing with cadre affairs, and particularly not with the type of case in which it is said that a particular person should not be touched because he is the acquaintance of someone important. Such an approach can still be found. We should also put an end to the practice by which a leader who fails in one managerial position is transferred to another, and if he fails here too, he is transferred to yet another managerial position. Society cannot afford to have its affairs dealt with in such a way.

We should deal with cadre affairs and the nominations for leading positions democratically and consistently, according to the real needs of the work.

Esteemed National Assembly!

I would like to take this opportunity to speak also about issues that are seemingly far from our current subject. All the more so, because one of the criticisms directed at the leadership in recent years was that we deal only with economic issues and neglect other important areas of life. This is not true. We do, indeed, deal extensively and thoroughly with economic affairs, but we also continuously evaluate current issues of science, public education, and culture, in accordance with their importance.

As for science, our party long ago declared that scientific issues can be decided only with scientific methods, and not with party decisions or majority votes, to be valid today. In a recent review of ideological activity, for example, the Politburo confirmed that it is possible to arrive at a supreme position concerning Marxist-Leninist ideology only by means of activity involving scientific analysis. This principle is valid in all other areas too and, in connection with this, it is very important to guarantee freedom of scientific research.

In connection with education—although I am not a professional in this area— I would like to mention a trend which is in vogue today: curbing prestige-oriented education, allegedly in order to strengthen a creative mentality. I respect the scientific efforts and do not question their correctness, but I join those who demand that children in schools should, nevertheless, also learn to write, read, and count well. Without this, it is impossible to implement any other ambitious demands.

Science, Culture, Economy [Subhead]

On behalf of the party leadership, I can say that we highly appreciate and respect the cultural activity. The increase and development of our culture in all areas of life is part of our socialist development. An important task for culture is to promote the development and strengthening of responsibility toward the community, and the formation of public morality. All the more so, because there have been alarming signs in society in this respect. If not primarily those who work in culture, then who can we expect to press for respect for the homeland, family, parents, children, and the human norms? I do not think it is a good idea to follow the West in the spread of pornography and rude speech in the theater and literature; we would do better to copy their rate of structural change. We should examine the offshoots of musical and spoken culture more critically, and television, radio, and other cultural institutions should not promote the spread of these offshoots in Hungary. I ask cultural workers to help us in this, because their voice is perhaps stronger in this area than that of the politicians.

We give great attention to all these areas. But it is true that, nowadays, we mostly deal with economic issues. Why? It must be clearly understood that the economy is the basis for everything else! Whatever task we take into consideration, the financial possibilities of its implementation come immediately to the fore. Therefore, when we deal with economic issues and strive to achieve better solutions, we do so for the benefit of public education, scientific development, and culture as a whole. And we expect scientists, educators, and cultural workers to help us in solving the tasks on our agenda today and regard this common work as an activity that is aimed, at the same time, at solving the problems of their own areas.

I do not want to deal now with an analysis of the relations between the systems of economic and political institutions, but I would like to mention that I am convinced that modernizing economic management and the change in economic structure also has—must have—an effect on society's political structure. And it also demands a change—there is no question about this.

There is a one-party system in Hungary; it has developed in this way historically. But it is impossible not to see

that— although it has happened slowly—there has, nevertheless, been some change; the various state, public, and economic bodies and organizations have become more independent. Maybe they are still not as independent as is needed, but we have taken a step in this direction, and we will take such steps in the future too. In connection with the political structure, the Central Committee will put an analysis of the party's leading role on its agenda. This is important because the way the party's leading role is asserted has, and will have, an effect on the activity of all state, public, and economic organizations. Of course, there are also different views in this respect. I have also heard opinions that claimed that not only the party, but also the state should refrain from dealing with economic issues. I am hardly aware of a country in the world where the party and the government do not deal with economic issues. There are also other opinions. In some preliminary debates I recently heard from an engineer that, if ever, then today there is a real need for party guidance. The party should tell us what to do, and we will do it. I believe that in our system there is truth in the latter opinion.

The Permanent and Changing Elements of Politics [Subhead]

Esteemed National Assembly!

There are permanent and changing elements in our party's policy. In connection with this, I would like to remind you that, in the period immediately after the end of the World War II, a struggle went on about the road upon which the country should embark.

This question was decided, and the people's power emerged in Hungary, and Hungary embarked on the road of socialist development. These are the two permanent elements of our policy, elements that become consolidated for the second time in the period of historical crisis, when again the issue was whether the people's power should remain in force in Hungary and whether our people should continue to advance on the road of socialism.

Our people's power and our socialist state have a symbol: the five-pointed red star. You know very well that when the regime came under attack, the first act of destruction was the disappearance of this symbol, the five-pointed star. It is true, however, that the light of this five-pointed star had been darkened and besmirched by certain things in the period of the personality cult prior to the social crisis of 1956.

We have been striving for decades to keep the star clean, and we are justified in fearing "the lower-middle-class" revolutionary who wants to fulfill everything 430 percent. They started to design the five-pointed star into sheets and draw it on ash-trays, and so on. We took measures to protect the symbol, the five-pointed star, and we banned its presence on nightclub entrances but we left it displayed everywhere at area functions and at the main gate of industrial, agricultural, and production enterprises. And it is, and will be on top of Parliament's highest tower.

The permanent elements of our policy do not change. We are waging a two-front struggle. To a certain extent, we still have to fight against sectarian and dogmatic views which nowadays appear mainly in reluctance concerning the need for change. The other trends, revisionism and right-wing concepts, are also present in our public life.

We will struggle against both of them, in the same way as that have done so far, by counting on our policy of alliance that stood the test, the alliance between society's classes and the collaboration between society's political forces.

I have already mentioned the importance of public life. This is well reflected by a historical example: Peter Veres' life. He came onto the political stage back in the Horthy regime, and in the period following the liberation he was the leader of the Peasant's Party, one of the communists' coalition parties. We used to have conflicts with him at the time too, but finally we came to agreement concerning fundamental goals. And let me tell you that today I would also gladly listen to words from some leading representatives of our literature to words similar to those Peter Veres used about the respect and sanctitude of work, and about taking responsibilities. Another great personality of our recent past was Zoltan Kodaly. He was not a politician; however, he helped our efforts in many respects. I remember that, no matter in which debate he was participating, there was no more constructive and critical observation than his at the debate in question. He never sung our praises or those of the socialist system, nor did we expect him to. When abroad, however, he always spoke with appreciation about what was going on at home. At home, he criticized the leadership. In Moscow or in the United States, he praised the same leadership. He was such a man.

As a most recent example, I remember Cardinal Lekai, and our important achievement concerning him is that, as a result of a realistic policy and a policy of alliance, relations between the Hungarian state and the church are orderly. Each, of course, sticks to its own ideology, both the state and the church are carrying out their own work, but meeting points can, nevertheless, be developed. This is expressed by the fact that a square in Budapest has just been named after Cardinal Lekai who was a patriot, just as we regard other responsible leaders of churches and denominations in Hungary, too. We are sons of the same people, and—as Cardinal Lekai put it—both believers and non-believers eat bread, they should also produce it together.

Catholics, Presbyterians, and the representatives of other religions also declared at the PPF Congress that the churches supported the country's building activity. This means a lot for us and we thank them for their support, and need it in the future too.

We want to strengthen the unity of society. The development of socialist democracy and the entire reform policy are aimed at attaining this goal. This is also a revolutionary effort because, following its victory, a

revolution continues to develop by means of reforms. This has nothing to do with reformism. We want to provide answers to the new questions and to institute changes in our practice by maintaining the quality of our party and our policy unchanged.

Speaking about the people's power, about socialism, I will not speak in detail now about the leading role of the party. In our current situation there is also a need for this leading role of the party, and this is an indispensable condition for the implementation of our policy.

For A World Free of Nuclear Weapons [Subhead]

Esteemed National Assembly!

On the international arena too, Hungary is actively working and fostering its relations with the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world. I also join Comrade Grosz' conclusions that the process of renewal currently under way in the socialist world is not an easy one, but has world historic importance.

For various reasons this process is taking place in a different way in the Soviet Union, the other European socialist countries, and in China, but it is on the agenda of events everywhere. We welcome this. There was a time when, due to our reform, we were accused of using capitalist methods. Today we are no longer alone in carrying out the necessary reforms. Hungary is also part of the process of comprehensive renewal which is very important, not only from the viewpoint of the socialist system, but also from the viewpoint of the whole of mankind. The effects of this process in foreign politics can already be discerned. We often come across expressions like mutual and equal security for all countries in the world at the lowest possible level of armament, and mutual verification.

The renewal is no longer only a declared program but a real process, and I am proud that this is a socialist program.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact member states, and of the other socialist countries is to struggle for a world free of nuclear weapons. Some of the capitalist countries continue to talk about the need for a nuclear deterrent; the socialist countries, however, are striving for a world in which mankind can live without nuclear weapons. There are continuous negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the top-level contacts between the GDR and the FRG serve the cause of peace in Europe. There are advanced negotiations underway between CEMA and the EEC. In Vienna, the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries are having talks on the preparation of negotiations of common interest. Like the other socialist countries, Hungary also believes in solving controversial international issues by means of negotiations.

As a result of the position of the socialist countries, the tension in the international situation has been easing recently, and a possible agreement on the elimination of medium and short-range missiles has become closer. The Soviet Union proposed the so-called double zero option in Europe and in other areas of the world. We support this option too.

Our party and government are actively struggling in the international arena. In accordance with its strength and possibilities, Hungary is carrying its share in the struggle for the common goals of peace and progress. We will act this way in the future too.

Esteemed National Assembly!

I state that the MSZMP will support with all its power the government in the implementation of the efforts included in its work program until the end of 1990 and voiced in the report of the premier. The party counts on the public and mass organizations—trade unions, the KISZ, the PPF—to contribute to this process. Primarily we count on the understanding and active support of our people. Development enables us to further advance on the road of socialist development, on the road leading to a pleasanter and better future for our people.

It is in our peoples basic interest to solve now the tasks of this program, and I can add that it is in our international interest too.

The weight of our word at various forums is equivalent with the success with which we settle our affairs at home. In other words: our self-esteem depends on the success of our domestic work.

Our national pride requires that our compatriots, no matter where they are, be able to say calmly and proudly that they are Hungarians. We want to help the considerable number of Hungarians living abroad, near and far from the homeland, but this also requires us to work at home in such a way that they can be proud Hungarians who do not have to be ashamed of their homeland.

I have confidence in the future. Our party and the responsible governments of our people's power have been in more difficult situations than the current one and have solved more difficult tasks too. By this, I do not want to minimize the weight of our present tasks, but I do say that we now have more and greater power than we had in the previous difficult situations. We have greater power because our people have learned a lot from historical experiences and have become more mature politically. Our people appreciate the fundamental results achieved so far and, aware of these results, they begin now to solve our current tasks.

I accept the submitted government work program and ask the National Assembly to support it.

Grosz Interviewed at Budapest Fair

LD222049 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Prior to his visit to the FRG at the beginning of next month, Karoly Grosz gave an interview to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. The West German daily carried it in today's issue. The Chairman of the Council of

Ministers also gave an interview to Budapest Television at the Budapest International Fair:

[Begin Grosz recording] Hungary is open to the world and wants to be increasingly open to the world. What the country wants is that instead of closing up, it should open up even more, because this is the only way open for the economy. This can only be done if competition exists.

If I had a lot of money I would send all Hungarians abroad on state funds so that they could see the world. But unfortunately we do not have so much money—we are a poor country. So all we can do is to bring the world's best here, so that their movement, direction of development, can be assessed.

This exhibition is needed, it is important, and we would like as many people as possible to come. Today I looked at the big exhibitors; primarily the USSR, Czechoslovakia. I have seen the Austrian exhibitors, exhibitors of the FRG. There are standards, there are very high standards. We must stretch a lot in order to be able to reach these standards. I think there is now a willingness to act in the country, even if measured by the historic yardstick, for this nation wants to live. We must reach peak standards, the standards of the vanguard, and this peak, which shows where we are, can also be a pulling force. [end recording]

Urban Welcomes Bush's Pending Visit

LD221233 Warsaw PAP in English 1118 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 22—For Poland the upcoming visit of U.S. Vice President George Bush is of great significance for improving Polish-American Relations, stated Jerzy Urban at today's press conference.

The authorities are not, however, interested in the private part of the visit. We know that some people from the so-called independent opposition are making efforts to "rub against" the vice president of the U.S. These are, as is known, representatives of the groups financed by western centres, Urban stated.

Replying to a question whether the U.S. vice president would deliver a speech on Polish television, the government spokesman stated that he did not see any obstacles for the official guest to deliver such a speech.

I think—Urban said replying to another question—that the exchange of ambassadors between Poland and the United States will be a logical consequence of improving relations between these countries, which is evidenced by the forthcoming visit of the U.S. vice-president to Poland.

Austrian Chancellor Begins Official Visit

Contacts 'of Significance'

LD211927 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky has begun an official visit to our country at the invitation of Zbigniew Messner.

The (?renewal) of Polish-Austrian contacts at the level of heads of government is of significance for bilateral relations as well as within the general European dimension.

The visit is also an expression of the interest of both countries in the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation on our continent.

Activities Detailed

LD230850 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Sept. 22—On the second day of his official visit to Poland on Tuesday Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky called on Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski.

Malinowski discussed the importance of parliamentary contacts for the development of the whole of the Polish-Austrian relations, and the role of parliaments on the international arena. In particular, he paid much attention to the Sejm's initiative aimed at convening in Warsaw a meeting of chairman of the parliaments of the states—CSCE signatories.

Vranitzky positively assessed the Sejm's proposal, considering it to be purposeful and timely.

Ambassadors Marian Krzak and Andreas Samogyi participated in the talk.

Vranitzky also met with Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

Also today Vranitsky met at the Sejm with members of the Sejm's Committee for Foreign Affairs.

The committee's chairman Jozef Czyrek expressed respect for Austria for its friendly policy towards Poland and activity which, in tune with the status of permanent neutrality, was pursued by this country on the international arena. He also expressed conviction that the visit by the Austrian chancellor to Poland would contribute not only to the development of cooperation but also to the achievement of the highest goal, that is the preservation of peace. [passage omitted]

Participants in the meeting, including Sejm Deputy Speaker Jerzy Ozdowski, asked Vranitzky many questions.

Asked to present his assessment of the Jaruzelski plan, Vranitzky said that the proposals included in it are convergent with Austria's viewpoint on the consolidation of peace and increasing confidence in Europe.

"On my part, I already offer one nuclear-free zone, the Republic of Austria," he said.

Vranitzky also referred to the Soviet-American agreement in principle on the liquidation of intermediate and short range missiles, terming it as extremely promising.

I expect that the European nations' strivings for peace will be so strong that, facing these pressures, the governments will have to do nothing else but accept them, Vranitzky said. [passage omitted]

In the evening Chancellor Vranitzky met with Polish and foreign journalists.

He informed the newsmen that, as far as international issues are concerned, the talks conducted in Warsaw pertained mainly to the question of disarmament and the CSCE process.

"Austria's foreign policy lies along the line of the Jaruzelski plan. The convergence with Poland's peace proposal is also expressed, among other things, in the approach to the disarmament issue, including conventional disarmament. Vienna is the appropriate place for such talks," Vranitzky said.

The chancellor also reminded those present that both Poland and Austria voiced their support for the convening in Krakow of a symposium on the preservation of Europe's cultural heritage.

Referring to his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner, Franz Vranitzky said that he agreed with the thought expressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski as to

the role of small and medium-sized countries, whose voice in the issues of peace and disarmament is as important and indispensible as that of the big countries. "This leads to the political strengthening of Europe," he said.

Answering a question pertaining to economic cooperation, Chancellor Vranitzky replied that during the visit two of his aides conducted talks in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. "During the talks the list of joint cooperation ventures was reviewed, including the construction of a chain of hotels based on Austrian credits. The profits will be used to re-pay the credits," he said.

Vranitzky also said that change of the technique of financing joint enterprises is necessary, and that this is connected with the results of talks with the Paris Club on the re-scheduling of Poland's foreign debt. He informed the participants that Austria voices its support for Poland's agreement with the club on conditions which are acceptable to the Polish side. He also expressed the conviction that such an agreement will be reached soon.

"The issue of cooperation between small and medium-sized companies was also discussed. An advantage of this type of cooperation is the possibility of a flexible response to changes of the market situation. This type of cooperation depends above all else on the companies concerned," he said.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD221858 Warsaw PAP in English 1746 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria Franz Vranitzky.

During the meeting, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, the sides positively assessed the state of traditionally favourable relations between Poland and Austria and expressed the will for their further favourable development in all fields for the benefit of both nations and universal peace.

The two also discussed international problems, especially the course of the disarmament dialogue, the situation in Europe and the aim and assumptions of Poland's recent initiative concerning the limitation of armaments and increasing confidence.

The talks were attended by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner. Present were also ambassadors Marian Krzak and Andreas Somogyi.

After the meeting, president of the Council of State and his wife entertained the federal chancellor and his wife to a luncheon.

Meets With Messner

LD212101 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner today met Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky who is staying in Poland on an official visit. The face-to-face talks, which lasted longer than originally planned, showed far-reaching convergence regarding the matters discussed.

The two statesmen agreed on the creation of a Poland-Austria forum, with the participation of a wide circle of representatives of socioeconomic and cultural life.

Next, plenary talks began. The international situation was discussed, highlighting the significance of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. It was emphasized during the talks that Polish-Austrian contacts make an important contribution to the process of confidence-building. The Austrian chancellor signified that the plan of Wojciech Jaruzelski converged with the intentions of his country. He also drew attention to the significance of the Polish initiatives at the CSCE forum.

Samojlik Visits IMF, U.S. Treasury

LD192214 Warsaw PAP in English 1941 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Washington, Sept. 19—Poland's Minister of Finance Bazyli Samojlik visited Washington between September 15 and 18. He took part in a board meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) where issues of Poland's current economic policy were discussed with respect to developments in international financial relations.

Minister Samojlik met with IMF's managing director M. Camdessus and other board members. He also held a number of talks with IMF executive directors representing states or groups of member-states.

On September 17 Minister Samojlik paid a visit to U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James Baker. During a meeting at the Department of the Treasury present situation in U.S.-Polish financial relations was discussed as well as guidelines for actions aimed at eliminating obstacles in their development.

The talks were held in matter-of-fact climate that indicated a definite interest on both sides in progress in financial relations between the United States and Poland.

Daily on American Constitution

AU211039 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Sep 87 p 5

[Wojciech Luczak: "In Philadelphia 200 Years Ago"]

[Excerpts] The chroniclers recorded that that very day was extremely hot and that 39 men signed the document, which had been undergoing drafting for almost 4 months and which was so construed that every literate inhabitant of the Union was able to analyze it within an hour. The day of 17 September 1787 was very quiet in Philadelphia, and only a few of its inhabitants realized that an unusual tangle of events determined the future of the United States on that sunny morning. [passage omitted]

On 15 November 1777, during the war against Britain, the so-called Articles of Confederation, which became the foundations of the modern state of America, came

into force. Thirteen former colonies, which were independent regions at that time, decided to establish joint defense and political institutions, while preserving their sovereignty. However, the end of the war and the prayed-for arrival of independence, which was ratified by the 1783 Paris Treaty, did not prove to be a beginning of a strong and unified entity. On the contrary, political and economic contradictions among the 13 American states continued to grow. [passage omitted].

It was only the authority of George Washington, the hero of the war of independence, that was responsible for the fact that on 25 May 1787, 55 delegates representing 12 states (Rhode Island boycotted the convention) began to deliberate in Philadelphia about legally strengthening the Union. But only a few of them were convinced that the establishment of a strong central government was the only way out of the difficult situation. It was they who imposed their views on the majority. Still, there were those who opposed this solution, and that is why the declared advocates of division withdrew from these deliberations. It was precisely for this reason that the act that began with the words: "We the people of the United States ..." was signed by only 39 persons. Those who construed that first basic law were not motivated by political idealism. They were motivated by Montesquieu's teachings, which were so fashionable at the time, and by ... realism. This explains that characteristic division of power into legislative, executive, and judicial. This also explains the effort to find a golden mean between monarchy and absolute democracy because, as one of the creators of the Constitution wrote: "Remember that democracy never lives for too long. It wears itself out, it exhausts itself, and it kills itself. There has never been a democracy that has not committed suicide ..." The very same Constitution, which now includes several amendments, is in force to this very day. [passage omitted]

Some time later on, George Washington made a rather peculiar statement to his relatives, a statement that illustrates the political climate of the America of those days. He said that it was a miracle that the states ratified a document providing for a strong central government. Delaware was the first state to ratify it on 7 December 1787, but the Constitution formally came into force on 21 June 1788 when the ninth state—New Hampshire—adopted it. The boycotting state of Rhode Island did not adopt it until after 30 April 1798 when George Washington, the first President of the United States, was sworn in.

Some contemporary American works cite two other countries—Poland and France—that followed in the footsteps of the Americans and drew up their own original constitutions at the end of the 18th century.

Iranian Official's Visit Reviewed

LD190906 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran Javad Mansuri visited Warsaw with a special mission Sep. 16-18 to relay a message from Iran's premier on the development of bilateral relations and the international and regional situation.

Mansuri was received by Premier Zbigniew Messner and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski. The Iranian diplomat also met with Minister of Foreign Trade Andrzej Wojcik and Vice Minister of Science and Higher Education Czeslaw Krolikowski.

Political talks were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They were presided over from the Polish side by Vice Minister Majewski. The Iranian side presented Iran's stance on the Iranian-Iraqi war and the escalation of the military presence of the U.S. and some NATO states in the Gulf. The Polish side confirmed its support for the resolution of the U.N. Security Council of July 20, 1987 calling for a cease to armed activities and a peaceful solution to the conflict. It also spoke in favour of the withdrawal of foreign warships from the Gulf.

Both sides expressed readiness to develop commercial trade and economic cooperation as well as cultural and scientific cooperation.

Further on 'Prague Days in Warsaw'

Kapek Received By Jaruzelski

LD211923 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Poland—"Prague Days", an extensive exhibition on the current political, economic, and cultural life of the Czechoslovak capital, continued in Warsaw today. The head of the Prague delegation, Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the city party committee in Prague, was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the highest party and state representative of Poland. He singled out the implementation of economic reforms aimed at accelerating qualitative changes in the economy and the intensification of development as a very important task of the PZPR.

Antonin Kapek conveyed to Wojciech Jaruzleski greetings from Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and stressed the importance of the "Prague Days" in Warsaw for the development of Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation.

Officials Discuss Relations

LD222243 Warsaw PAP in English 1920 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—In connection with the Days of Prague staged in Warsaw member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, First Secretary of the CPCZ Prague Municipal Committee Antonin Kapek has been staying here.

Both Kapek and Janusz Kubasiewicz, alternate political bureau member, first secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee, pointed to many-year, friendly contacts between both capitals.

At a press conference the leaders of the party committees in both cities gave several examples of possibilities of direct industrial cooperation between Warsaw and Prague. In the near future it will be possible to form a joint commercial-industrial venture, it was said.

Malinowski on Sejm Fall Session

AU210808 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDUinPolish16 Sep 87p 2

[Statement by Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski to PAP correspondent Grzegorz Milewski: "The Sejm's Most Important Plans for the Fall Session"]

[Text] The fall session of the Sejm's ninth term will begin on 17 September.

Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski told your PAP correspondent about the Sejm's most important plans.

The present term, R. Romanowski said, will be very industrious. At the coming session between 20 and 30 September the Sejm will hear a government report on cultural policy. I wish to stress that this will be yet another example of the control the Sejm tries to extend to the most important areas of our life. In mid-July the government presented the materials on this policy, and the Sejm Presidium asked the Cultural Commission, the Socioeconomic Commission, and Sejm advisors to examine them. The Cultural Commission has completed its examination, and we expect that the Sejm will pass the necessary resolution, following the deputies' debate.

At its September session the Sejm will examine the Central Annual Plan for 1988, which was submitted to the Sejm by the government at the end of July. The appropriate Sejm commissions have completed their examination of this plan, which defines the main lines of the country's socioeconomic development. The Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances will discuss the results of this examination on Tuesday. Its report will be presented to the Sejm's plenary session. Its views on the 1988 plan will be presented in a resolution.

The session will also refer to the Sejm resolution of last June on the realization in yet another year of the program for developing farming and food production.

Last June the government was asked to present information on the realization of that resolution. The government has presented some materials, which will be examined by appropriate commissions, and will present the main information at the Sejm's plenary session. This is crucial proof of consistent parliamentary control and of addressing issues that call for more decisive action in the interest of farming, food, and society.

During the coming session, the deputies' draft law on Workers Vacation Fund will be presented for the first time. This is a social project in view of the extensive public interest in this subject.

The Sejm will hold two sessions in October to discuss primarily the economic reform. The Sejm will examine the government program for realizing the second stage of the reform and the draft institutional solutions, against the background of the present course of the reform. Deputies, Sejm commissions, and advisory bodies participated in the entire discubgmn of the theses on the second stage of the reform, and presented their proposals to the government. We assume that these proposals will be utilized to a great extent in drawing up the final program to be presented to the Sejm. The premier will present this program to the October session of the Sejm and will discuss proposals to reorganize the center in order to strengthen the solutions of the economic reform.

The Sejm attaches special importance to the economic reform and the associated changes in the administrative center and not only will it discuss them at the October session, it will also devote its main attention to them all throughout the ninth term. The Sejm will ensure consistent efforts to implement the second stage of the reform in order to balance more speedily the economy, carry out the changes in its structure, curb inflation, improve quality and efficiency, and everywhere create conditions for increasing militancy, initiative, dynamism, an innovative spirit, and good management. This should go hand in hand with tighter requirements concerning personnel, and greater order and discipline.

At our session we will again examine the condition of workers self-management bodies, paying special attention to the functioning of the law on these bodies in state enterprises. The Sejm Self-Management Commission will present information and proposals on this issue to the Sejm.

In October the Sejm will discuss the realization of its resolution of 1983 on health protection and social care, and the report of the Complaints Commission about citizens' letters addressed to the Sejm. These letters are part and parcel of the work program of our commissions and the Sejm as such. In October we will have the second reading of bills on seeding and technological supervision

At our November and December sessions we will examine the draft state budget for 1988 and the associated fiscal plans.

In November we also intend to evaluate the realization of the electorate's proposals and demands. I wish to stress that these proposals are always being updated and supplemented during deputies' meetings with their electorate. These meetings ensure the continuity of our work.

We expect that the fall session will end in January 1988. At its first session in 1988 the Sejm will introduce a new practice: It will listen to the premier's report on the most important issues of our socioeconomic situation and on the government's action lines in 1988. The fact that the Sejm will examine such reports each year shows that its controlling functions as the highest body of state power continue to expand all the time.

Jaruzelski Notes Engineers' Economic Role
LD211959 Warsaw PAP in English 1851 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received Prof. Janusz Tymowski, outstanding scientist, constructor, technologist and social activist, in connection with the latter's 85th birthday.

The role of engineers in reforming the Polish economy, and particularly in the development of technology and production of higher quality makes, was stressed at the meeting.

U.K.'s Speaker Weatherill Interviewed
AU211234 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 87 pp 1,2

[Interview with Bernard Weatherill, speaker of the British House of Commons, by Ryszard Bankowicz: "More Than Just Tradition"—Warsaw, date not given]

[Text] [Bankowicz] When I was in London shortly after the votes in the election to the House of Commons had been counted, I looked at a map of Great Britain showing every constituency colored according to the party which had won in it, and I noticed that your own constituency, Croydon North-East, was a white patch. It seemed to highlight the above-party status of its representative in Parliament.

[Weatherill] This is because when a speaker is elected, he gives up his party membership and his function and activity therein. He is elected by members of Parliament to be their representative and chairman and to preside over their debates and guard the privileges of the House.

[Bankowicz] Elected? Does that mean that there is a vote involving candidates?

[Weatherill] I consider it an honor that for both of my terms of office so far—I commenced the first one in 1983—I was elected directly, without any competition, and so without a vote. I was put up by a group of members from the ruling Conservative Party and from the opposition, who said that they wanted me to be speaker. I said that I did not deserve this distinction and that there were others who were more suited for it, but I was reminded that such a decision by the House is binding on the person whom it concerns and that he cannot escape from it.

[Bankowicz] Is that because it is the custom for a speaker to display uncertainty when he is led to his place of honor for the first time immediately after the election?

[Weatherill] The office of speaker is a very old one, enshrouded in tradition just like everything in the British Parliament. The first speaker to head the House was chosen in 1377. I am the 134th speaker in our parliament's history. It used to be a very inconvenient office, with its incumbent facing difficult choices between the monarch on the one hand and the members who were always at variance with him on the other. No one used to clamor for this post; it was quite simply imposed on the candidate, and members had to practically drag him to the chair. So today too, custom requires that before the new speaker occupies his chair, he should create the impression that he is doing so against his will and make it look as if he is being almost physically dragged to his place.

[Bankowicz] In his long white wig and black robe with rich gold embroidery, the speaker of the House of Commons is the only member never to take part in the debates of the House. So why is he called speaker if he never speaks?

[Weatherill] In the past, the speaker was the one member of parliament whose role was to speak; not in the House of Commons, but on behalf of it. He spoke on behalf of the House before the House of Lords, before the monarch, before various extraparliamentary institutions. Today he also represents the House of Commons during various state occasions and special events. In Parliament itself, the speaker's voice is to be heard quite frequently, though as chairman he indeed does not take part in debates. He is the supreme authority in the House of Commons. He represents rather more than just tradition. He influences the course and very essence of the debates.

[Bankowicz] Letting members have the floor?

[Weatherill] And deciding on the order in which they speak. Members clamor to speak one after the other. That is also tradition. The speaker indicates who is to speak. He usually knows who might have something important to say about the subject of the debate, because many members who are eager to speak contact the speaker beforehand. Members from the ruling and chief opposition parties have to have priority because of the importance of the views they represent. But representatives of minority parties should also be heard, because one of the speaker's tasks is to guard the rights of the minority. One must guarantee young members making their first speech the possibility of presenting themselves to the House. Members may refer to notes during their speeches, but they may not read from a text. Only ministers, members of the government, have this right.

[Bankowicz] May the speaker interrupt a speech?

[Weatherill] He may. In fact he should, because speeches very often deviate from the subject or are repetitious. He may also do so when a member in his rhetorical passion addresses to his adversaries epithets that should not be used in the House or when he forgets the only two permissible forms of address in the House: honorable member or my honorable friend.

[Bankowicz] From a book published by Parliament about the work of the speaker, I know that he must act

with particular determination whenever one member in the heat of discussion calls another member a liar or a hypocrite.

[Weatherill] Oh yes. In such cases he must display determination immediately. His call "Order! Order!" is well known to everyone in Parliament. Whenever he rises from his chair, members must sit down and calmly accept his decision concerning who is to speak. If any member refuses to obey the speaker, he may ask the House to bar the member in question from the House for 5 days for a first offense and for 20 days for a second offense. He may also ask the sergeant-at-arms to lead the member out by force, but such cases are obviously very rare.

[Bankowicz] The speaker must live a very lonely life. Although he receives hundreds of officials in his official residence inside the Westminster buildings, he must discontinue the friendships with members that he held before he was elected, he must give up the joint dinners and chats and anything that could arouse the suspicion that his impartiality is not total.

[Weatherill] The speaker is neutral and must show it by means of his conduct. But apart from receptions for official guests, he also organizes receptions for members and their wives. I have the impression that at times like these we all feel warmth and proximity toward each other, despite the party differences. We are one single community then. It is my habit to say on such occasions that one of the definitions of "community" in the Oxford dictionary is "those who sail in the same boat." But it is true that a speaker does not have much time for social life. After all, he is also head of the House of Commons administration, the head of a personnel force numbering 900. It is up to him to decide on matters appropriate to this administration's leadership, for example the question of feeding 4,000 people, for whom a team of people headed by 79 qualified chefs does the cooking.

[Bankowicz] Your present visit to Poland is the first official visit by a speaker of the House of Commons to our country, but not your first encounter of matters concerning British-Polish cooperation.

[Weatherill] Just like many of my countrymen, I possess enormous sentiment toward Poles and respect their achievements. Also just like many Britons, I remember our joint battle against Hitlerism and I appreciate the Polish sense of humor. While in Poland I have learned that you are a people that cannot forget its sensitivity and that must consider peace in Europe its first national objective.

[Bankowicz] At the meeting of Warsaw Pact heads of parliament in July, the Sejm suggested a meeting of parliamentarians representing all the CSCE signatory countries. In a nutshell, this meeting is to make Europe a safer and better home for all Europeans. What do you think of it?

[Weatherill] I told the Sejm marshal, Roman Malinowski, that I fully share his approach toward the problems facing Europe and tasks facing parliaments in this sphere. We are considering taking part in this meeting.

Interview on Interagency Cooperation

AU221230 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19-20 Jul 87 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Milutenko, deputy chairman of NOVOSTI, by Colonel Zdzislaw Janos: "There Are No Various Truths"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] "Z.W.": The terms restructuring and openness have become very popular because the world is very interested in the historic changes in the life of Soviet society. How are these changes reflected in *Novosti* material?

V.M.: Well, for many years we in *Novosti* believed that our material had no competition outside the country. By this I mean no competition from other Soviet media. Perhaps this conviction came about because our own journalists had started writing in the journalistic style of the times earlier than anyone else. However, the revolutionary changes that also affected the Soviet press turned this very press into our greatest competitor. Right now in the USSR no two papers are similar to each other. Even journalists accredited in Moscow complain that they are not in a position to read every single interesting article in the columns of Soviet papers or periodicals. Our former contractors reach for these papers and periodicals willingly and frequently today. So, in order to maintain our position, we in *Novosti* now have to resort to the journalist's best weapon—professional expertise, interesting information, originality of expression, and an accurate knowledge of what our readers are interested in.

First of all, our employees have to fight such a "duel" with the "internal censor" who forces them toward old stereotypes every now and then.

Experience teaches us that there is not and there cannot be one set of truths abroad and another set of truths for us at home. There is only one truth. And that is the unaltered truth that we convey.

Restructuring, openness—these terms conceal people, characters, fortunes, and thoughts. They involve an encounter between different views, a struggle against old habits that are putting up stubborn resistance, and a constant confirmation of irreversible changes. By means of these dialectics and in this revolutionary fervor we would like to convey to our readers the spirit of our country today. This is difficult. [passage omitted]

"Z.W.": We know that *Novosti* maintains good working contacts with the fraternal agencies in the socialist countries, including PAP and *Interpress*. How does this cooperation appear in practice and what are its prospects?

W.M.: We have found many friends among our *Interpress* colleagues and discovered many people who think the same way as us. A conformity of views concerning information work is the most important condition for success. We believe the time has come for even more concrete and more necessary work. This joint task stems from the program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and PZPR and illustrates the party's confidence in the fraternal agencies and their creative potential.

We have written the book "Memory" ["Pamiec"] jointly with *Interpress*. Its two volumes were placed at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow by a Polish delegation.

Letters are flowing in to Moscow and Warsaw from every corner of the USSR and Poland. These are a kind of continuation of this important book, dedicated to the Soviet soldiers who died on Polish soil while bringing it freedom . . .

Together with *Interpress* we have made two videos which have been shown on Soviet and Polish television and also in other countries. We have also commenced a program involving the joint presentation of so-called young talents. Our Polish colleagues' presentation of the Soviet violinist Yevgeniy Bushkov, not only as a musician but also as an individual, was the premiere. Now it is our turn.

Before the 70th anniversary of the Great October, *Interpress* is meant to supply us with a special issue of the monthly *Reporter*. It will be the fruit of trips around the USSR by leading Polish reporters.

We have many other interesting ideas, such as an exchange of photographic exhibitions, the joint publication of books, the joint making of videos . . . [passage omitted]

"Z.W.": Our readers will certainly want to know how, for example, *Zolnierz Wolnosci* orders for agency material evolve into articles in the columns of our paper. Perhaps a few words about the "kitchen" in which written and photographic material is prepared.

W.M.: We are making a greater effort to shorten the road along which the material ordered by you reaches Poland. However, it may take many hours, or even weeks. After all, our country is really big and everything depends on where we have to search for the material—whether in the electronic memories of our archives, or within the confines of Moscow, or somewhere in the Far East.

What does the "kitchen" look like? An order is passed to the person responsible for the topic in question. Having been proofread and corrected by an editor, the text is cabled to the NOVOSTI bureau in Warsaw, where translators set to work. Then we phone *Zolnierz Wolnosci* to say we are ready. [passage omitted]

"Z.W.": Thank you very much for the talk and the time the Comrade Deputy Chairman has given to a representative of the Polish Army daily, and thank you also for organizing and inviting me to take part in the interesting journalists' trip around the USSR.

Messner Addresses Monument Meeting

AU211625 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 87 p 2

[PAP report on speech delivered by Zbigniew Messner at a meeting to mark the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Council for the Protection of Monuments to Struggle and Martyrdom that was held at Warsaw Castle on 16 September]

[Text] The next to speak was Zbigniew Messner. He said: "Our fate, the fate of the Poles, has made the traditions of armed struggle, which we have waged for the freedom and independence of our state for centuries, the main factor in society's consciousness of history. Society will always remember the uprisings in the struggle for national liberation, the soldiers of September, those who fought in France and Norway, the Polish airmen who took part in the battle for England, the sailors who ran wartime convoys, and the troops of Polish People's Army who, fighting alongside the Soviet Army, liberated our country from the yoke of Hitlerite captivity. We will remember the Polish partisans and members of resistance movements in all of occupied Europe, the Poles who fought in allied armies in Normandy, Italy, Belgium, and Holland. We will remember those who suffered and died in Hitlerite prisons and camps thinking of a free Poland. The contribution made by troops and citizens to the preservation and liberation of the fatherland, which was so often synonymous with the sacrifice of life, cannot be measured and classified. It is our duty to treat this contribution equally, regardless of where and when it was made.

"Since 1947, in accordance with a decision made by the Legislative Sejm, the patron for the great national task of remembrance concerning the history of events and places has been the Council for the Protection of Monuments to Struggle and Martyrdom. The highest authority in our state, the PPR Government, attaches great importance to its work. We consider it a duty toward our people and its history, toward current and future generations of Poles, as the fulfillment of the last will of those who fell in the struggle for a free fatherland. Their sacrifice should make us remember and think about how important it is to maintain independence and security, and about the value of the highest good; that of peace in Europe and the world.

"Poland, with its painful experience of World War II, has a particular right to publicly warn against all revivals of fascism in whatever form, and against the arms race, which threatens the world with global destruction. That is why we so warmly support the various disarmament proposals made by the Soviet Union, that is why, alongside other socialist states, we are constantly active in the international arena, and that is why Poland launched the

most recent initiative aimed at making the center of Europe a zone of security and confidence, the initiative that the world has already begun to call the Jaruzelski plan.

"During the 40 years of its existence the Council for the Preservation of Monuments to Struggle and Martyrdom has accomplished its tasks well. The council tends with great care the cemeteries and graves of Polish and Soviet soldiers, victims of Hitlerite terror, and those of Polish citizens and the citizens of many other European states. In addition to the ashes of 2.5 million Polish and Soviet soldiers that rest in our soil, there are also the remains of the overwhelming majority of 6 million Polish citizens who lost their lives during World War II. This figure includes 3 million Polish Jews, whose suffering is an integral part of our nation's martyrology. Museums have been established in the former Hitlerite death camps, and they will act as a constant reminder of criminal genoicide and as a warning to the peoples of the world.

"The program of socialist renewal in Poland has revived society's interest in the Poles' history of struggle and martyrdom. Thanks to the efforts of the council, a series of important corrections to this history have been made in recent years. They reflect historical truth and public feeling, and have saved many heroic personalities and events from oblivion. Public initiatives connected with this process attest to the patriotic feeling and attachment to the noble traditions of our people. They have also won the support of the state, as is shown, for example, by the construction of the monument dedicated to the heroes of the Warsaw Uprising and the museum dedicated to the martyrology of the Polish village in Michniow.

"However, the council's view that remembrance does not always mean the erection of costly new monuments should be considered correct. A role of this kind can also be performed by socially useful facilities such as the Memorial Center for the Health of the Child. We consider these and other initiatives of a similar kind very useful from the social perspective.

"During our complicated history the Poles have fought "for our freedom and yours" here and beyond the borders of our country. And so, there are many places all over the world that have been consecrated with the blood of our countrymen, especially during World War II. It ought to be noted that the Poles' contribution to the victory over fascism has been appropriately honored by the governments and peoples of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and of France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Norway, and Libya. Communities of Poles living abroad have performed a great service in this respect."

Z. Messner expressed sincere thanks to the peoples and governments of these states and to all the Poles living in them for looking after the places of remembrance.

The premier went on to say: "The services of the Roman Catholic Church and other churches and religious denominations have been significant with respect to maintaining our nation's traditions of fighting for liberation. During the period of the partitions and the occupation they maintained national monuments, and saw to it that the combatants and leaders who had fallen in the struggle for Polish identity were remembered. There is one tradition of struggle for freedom and independence and it is indivisible. Thus, it is worth finding appropriate forms of cooperation and combining efforts."

The premier warmly thanked current and former activists of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments to Struggle and Martyrdom for their selfless work in preserving the memory of heroic deeds and ordinary, everyday devotion to a free and independent fatherland for future generations.

Reader on Futility of Fighting Abuses
AU221156 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
9 Sep 87 p 20

[Letters to the party: "Who Is To Fight Abuses?"]

[Text] An anonymous reader writes: People see abuses spreading in our country, but they are helpless. The authorities continue to appeal to them to combat thieving, bribery, loafing, waste, bad management, and so on, but what can a common worker or farmer do if a manager is a thief or if a village steward makes grants of land from the State Land Fund or supplies building materials to those who bribe him? Where can these workers and farmers take their complaints? Whose abuses can they fight? It is true that they can fight abuses, but if they do they had better to look at once for jobs somewhere else... Yet what can one do if the same regimen exists somewhere else too? Besides, those who fight are quickly labeled as prone to conflicts and troublemaking . . .

If party secretaries refuse to fight these phenomena on the ground that managers and supervisors are party men, what can rank-and-file party members do?

There are so many militiamen, prosecutors, and control bodies in Poland, but why do they not discharge their duties properly?

At one time I tried to fight my chief's dishonesty and reported his abuses to the authorities. My allegations proved to be correct, but my chief retained his position, while I was asked to work in some other enterprise—at a "safe" distance from my original enterprise. At one time I was praised in my enterprise as an outstanding worker, but when I had to go I was labeled as a loafer and an incompetent worker, one who has his qualifications but who is unsuitable for his job. That is why now, when I see how the land lies in my enterprise, I at once close my eyes to all abuses. I will never again contact prosecutors.

However, I think that party secretaries who refuse to see what takes place in their enterprises should be asked to give account of their jobs and should be dismissed. After all, someone must see abuses and must fight them. This someone should be the party.

Harvest Home Festival Closing Activities

Jaruzelski Receives Farmers

LD191413 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] In the annual tradition, at the end of the harvest, farmers and agricultural employees from various parts of the country have had a meeting in the Belweder with members of the political and state authorities. Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed to them and, through them, to all farmers and agricultural employees, sincere thanks for their effort in this year's difficult harvest and for their concern to ensure food supplies for society. During the meeting, 100 farmers and agricultural employees, whose professional and social work was outstanding, received state decorations and the honorary title of meritorious farmers of the PPR.

Makes Address

LD210530 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—A number of rural communities and voivodships celebrated the end of harvest today. The gala harvest home festival in Wabrzezno, Torun voivodship, hosted a delegation of top Polish party and state officials with PUWP CC First Secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, members of the government with Premier Zbigniew Messner, members of the UPP CC presidium with chairman, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinvwski, as well as, DP CC Chairman Tadeusz W. Mlynczak.

Polish Minister of Farming, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Stanislaw Zieba addressed the meeting. He said in part:

Severe winter, delayed spring and rainy summer posed a hard trial to people. Similar adversities would cause farmers' fiasco in the past. Polish agriculture has won this battle for bread and we will not have less than last year. This is owing to a larger number of machines in service of agriculture and hard work of Polish farmers.

However, farm production still involves high costs, especially consumes more energy, fuel, and coal.

The past years proved that Polish farmers worked out an average yield of 30 quintals of grain per hectare. A further increase in crops depends on the envisaged supply of industrial high-crops stimulating agents and efficient methods of production.

Several individual farmers and combines farms could boast 9-11 tonnes of wheat per hectare, and the yield of four types of grain in some combined farms reached over 7 tonnes per hectare.

Through implementation of the principles of the reform—self-management, independence, and self-financing, state-run farms and farming cooperatives attain an even greater production and economic output. The number of prosperous individual farms is growing, Minister Zieba said.

Also Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor, stressing once more how difficult and hard this year was. He said:

It was a battle. One could not simply collect the crops. One had to pull them out. The yield was high. The output favourable. We owe this to dedicated work of Polish farmers. We extend to them expressions of deepest respect. We also express recognition for all those providing services to agriculture, employees of industry, education and science.

Modern, highly efficient farming is one of the main pillars and basic conditions of the country's modernity. We have made another step on that road this year. We would like the next year, the agricultural year we enter now, to be even more favourable, Jaruzelski said.

New Potato Prices Set for Farmers

LD211514 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 21 Sep 87

["New Prices for Potatoes"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Official procurement prices have been set under the decision of the minister for finance.

Thus, for one quintal of contracted edible potatoes the farmer will receive the basic price of 960 zlotys, while for non-contracted potatoes—760 zlotys. Bonuses may be added to the basic price, such as 150 zlotys per one quintal of potatoes of the so-called preferable brands, or a bonus for delivery and unloading at the procurement centre or another for keeping the delivery deadline.

In all, the farmer will be able to receive in autumn at the procurement facility the maximum of 1220 zlotys per 100 kilos of edible potatoes. On the other hand he will be entitled to further bonuses if he, having confirmed it with the cooperative, undertakes to store the potatoes at his place.

Mexican Journalists Interview Ceausescu

AU191741 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Tuesday, 1 September, granted the following interview to the Mexican journalists Jose Lopez Arteaga of the daily *El Sol de Mexico* and Fernando Alberto Irala Burgos of the periodical *Tiempo*:

Question: Recently the press marked the 22d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress and your election to the helm of the party. Mr President, we would like you to tell us what this period meant for your country's development. How would you define Romania's current socio-economic development stage?

Answer: This year Romania is celebrating the 43d anniversary of the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution for national and social liberation which opened the road to Romania's independent development and transition—in 1948—to the construction of socialism. In general, during this whole period, and especially during the years of socialist construction, Romania achieved important results which turned it from a poorly developed and mainly agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country.

Within this framework, the period following 1965 marked an important stage in Romania's development at a sustained rate. In general, during the years of socialist construction, Romania's industrial output increased more than 100 times over. Some 80 percent of this increase in production during this period has been achieved in the past 22 years. New jobs were created, and, compared to 1965, the number of jobs actually doubled. All this was achieved by allocating important funds—some 33 percent—of the national income for development purposes throughout this period. Thus we were able to increase the fixed assets some 6 times. Some 90 percent of Romania's fixed assets have been created in the past 22 years. This led to an appropriate increase in labor productivity and, at the same time, to an improved technical and qualitative standard of products. I may say that Romanian industry today can actually manufacture all kinds of machines and equipment in all areas, including electronics, matching the best such products in the world. Apart from nuclear weapons, there is no field in which Romania fails to manufacture any kind of product. This is so because we have been and continue to be firmly against nuclear weapons and favor their elimination.

Accordingly, we have achieved an important increase in agricultural yields which, in general, increased almost 6 times over during the years of socialist construction. Some 75 percent of this increase was achieved in the past 22 years. A considerable increase was achieved in grain yields, which totaled more than 30 million metric tons last year as compared to the 12 million metric tons in 1965. This year we will probably exceed 30 million metric tons.

We have also achieved an appropriate increase in foreign trade. We have vigorously developed economic relations and international cooperation with all states in the world, irrespective of social system. During this period, foreign trade increased 7.5 percent.

Similarly, the national income increased almost 5 times in the past 22 years. Compared with 1944, the national income increased more than 32 times, 80 percent in the past 22 years. This brought about an improvement in the material and cultural standard of living of our people and enabled us to execute important housing projects, and to build schools, hospitals, and other social and cultural establishments. As a matter of fact, anyone is able to note that there is no city or locality in Romania where there are no important social constructions under way, beginning with housing.

Thus we can say that during the years of socialist construction, and especially in the past 22 years, Romania has gone through several historic stages of development—from the bourgeois-landlord society, with rich and poor people, with oppressors and exploited, to the comprehensively developed socialist society in which the exploitation of man by man has been eradicated for the good of all. We are building a society whose aim it is to ensure the country's overall development, an improved material and cultural standard of living for our people, a higher level of civilization, and, on this basis, our country's strengthened independence and sovereignty.

Question: What are Romania's prospects for the year 2000? What medium-term targets do you envisage for your country?

Answer: On the basis of the 13th RCP Congress Decisions and the party program, Romania will turn into a comprehensively developed agrarian-industrial country by 2000. The socialist principles of labor, renumeration, and life will be given general application. Conditions will be created to move to a higher stage: the implementation of the communist principles of life.

Within this framework, in the first stage—by the year 2000—Romania will move to a new stage of development, the stage of a medium-developed socialist country, and I can say that our achievements up to now—in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan—guarantee that this target will be achieved.

We place particular stress on developing science, education, and culture as basic and decisive factors for the general progress of our socialist society and, in fact, of any state in the world.

We have moved to intensive development on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas. We have also moved to perfect our leadership, modernize, and improve financial and economic standardization by firmly basing all our activities on the principles of economic legality, profitability, and efficiency. In addition, we base these activities on resolutely applying the principles of self-management and self-administration in all areas.

In agriculture we are implementing the new agrarian revolution—as we call it—which implies a vigorous increase in output, but also a general change in the mode of living and working for cooperative members and peasants and a change in the very thinking of the working people in villages. I can say that it is on this very basis that in the past years we achieved the results I referred to. We had yields of up to 10,000 kg of wheat per hectare and of more than 20,000 kg of ears of corn per hectare.

Thus we bear in mind that by the year 2000 Romania will rank among the economically developed countries, but will have a developed socialist system in which some forms of communist principles of work and life will be already obvious. We want to achieve all this by using the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas. Further, we want to largely improve our people's material and cultural standard of living—the supreme goal of our party's policy and the essence of the socialist society which we are building in Romania. We believe that everything we achieve in our country must be achieved with the help of the people and for the people.

Question: Mr President, the questions of democracy are the focus—in an increasingly large measure—of public opinion both in the East and in the West. In your opinion, what would be the characteristic features of genuine democracy and what level of development has it reached in Romania?

Answer: In all our activities we proceed from the need to ensure a broad workers revolutionary democracy to enable all social strata and all our people to participate in the management of various areas.

As I have mentioned, we ensure the management of the economy on the basis of the democratic principles of self-management and self-administration as essential principles; however, proceeding from this, we have achieved a broad democratic leadership system made up of working people's councils in all areas—in industry, agriculture, education, science, and in all sectors. At least most members of the working people's councils in industry and other areas are workers directly active in the production process. In agriculture these members are, of course, agricultural workers and in agricultural production cooperatives they are almost all cooperative farmers and mechanizers, as well as specialists who are working in the respective areas.

All these bodies include more than half a million workers, peasants, and intellectuals from all areas. The working people's managerial councils play a deliberative role, namely they decide on and lead all activities.

The fixed assets in each enterprise have been put at the disposal of the working people's collectives to be used by them. As owners and producers, the workers and the other working people are responsible for part of the country's wealth in general. We have institutionalized the general meetings as collective leadership bodies that decide on all economic and social activities.

In order to ensure better participation by all working people in the management activity—both locally and countrywide—we have created county bodies of the people's councils and national bodies. We have a National Council of Working People, a National Council of Agriculture, a National Council of Science and Education, and a Council for Culture and Education. Every 5 years we hold congresses in these areas, which are attended by representatives chosen by the working people. The working people's congress, for instance, is attended by 11,000 people; the congress of agriculture is attended also by 11,000 people; the congress of science and education by some 7,000 people, and the congress of culture, which took place a few weeks ago, by 5,000 people.

Hence, we have created a broad democratic leadership system in all sectors, which, together with the state bodies, ensures the democratic management of all activities. We have, of course, the Grand National Assembly whose members are elected by secret ballot once every 5 years; we have people's councils in communes, cities, and counties which are elected every 2 years. Then, every 5 years we hold a congress which discusses problems of people's councils in cities, communes, and counties, of the regional activity, and elects the parliament of those councils, which endorsed all laws on the local activity in general and on other activities, before being submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval. Some 20 [as published] years ago we introduced the principle of two or three candidates running for one deputy seat both in the Grand National Assembly and in the people's councils.

Thus we can say that we have created a broad democratic system which is both based on classical bodies, as it were, and on new democratic, revolutionary forms, which ensure the working people's direct participation in the leadership of all activities. On this basis, we believe that the democratic system in Romania can demonstrate its superiority compared with any other so-called classical representative of democracy. We move from the fact that, in the current circumstances of an increased role of the people's masses and of nations in the development of society, new and democratic forms must be created to enable the peoples to participate directly in the leadership and not only through their representatives. Therefore, we formulated the thesis that we are building socialism with the people and for the people.

Question: Mr President, you almost never state a position publicly, without referring to international issues. How do you see the future of mankind under conditions of nuclear arms proliferation, the increase of the arms race, and the multiplication of conflicts, while the great powers continue to interfere in domestic affairs of other countries and the tendency to divide the world into new zones of influence perpetuates?

Answer: Romania believes that the objectives of its socioeconomic development can be achieved only under conditions of peace and international cooperation with all the countries of the world, regardless of their social

system. As a matter of fact, one can say that all the nations can develop only in conditions of peace. Therefore, we concentrate our forces on implementing the objectives and programs of development and socialist construction and we attach great importance to international activity.

We develop broad relations with all the countries of the world. We base these relations on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage. We speak out firmly against the use and threat of force and for the observance of each nation's right to develop freely, in accordance with its wishes, without any outside interference.

Mankind is going through a new period, which, fundamentally changed the way of thinking about issues of peace and war. I am referring to the existence of nuclear weapons which can destroy all mankind and the conditions for life itself on our planet. From this emerges the need for a new thinking which must start from the fact that, under the current circumstances, a world war is not possible, and, therefore, war itself should be eliminated from the lives of nations.

First of all, everything possible has to be done in order to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. Therefore, we have hailed and we support the proposals advanced by the Soviet Union regarding the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We advocate the achievement of appropriate agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on proceeding to a reduction that can lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Within this framework, we believe that the possibility exists and an appropriate agreement must be achieved on elimination of intermediate-range nuclear and operational-tactical missiles from Europe and Asia. In our view, both the proposals of the Soviet Union and of the United States permit the achievement of an agreement on this issue. Nevertheless, the other countries—I am thinking about European countries where these weapons can be found—should act with more determination and eliminate everything that could impede the achievement of this agreement.

Likewise, we advocate transition to reducing conventional weapons. As a matter of fact, last year, Romania decided to proceed to a unilateral 5 percent reduction of these weapons and military expenditures.

In our view, there is no more important issue today than disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and ensuring peace. This will ensure the necessary conditions to use an important part of material, financial, and human means for development, for finding solutions to many socioeconomic problems—including unemployment, illiteracy, health—and for generally raising the standard of living of the nations.

We most firmly speak out for finding solutions to all interstate problems solely through negotiations. We believe that all current conflicts should be solved through negotiations. This also holds true for the Middle East conflict, for the Iran-Iraq war, and for Central American problems. Within this framework, I would like to mention the efforts made by the Central American countries and the recently established agreement on finding negotiated solutions to their problems and ensuring independence for the nations in this region.

In general, we believe that the great powers and, certainly, all the countries should put an end to any kind of interference in domestic affairs of other countries and should completely give up the policy of force and the tendency for domination in various regions of the world. Within this framework, referring to the Iran-Iraq conflict, I would like to mention the danger posed by the presence of military vessels of the United States and of other states in the Gulf, which might lead to an expansion of the conflict with very serious consequences. Therefore, we advocate the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Gulf and generally from other seas and oceans and we believe that all the seas and oceans should stay free for international navigation and for other peaceful purposes.

We believe that under the current circumstances, although the situation is very serious, nevertheless there are strong forces, which, acting in unity with all the peoples who desire peace, can change the course of events and can impose a democratic policy of disarmament, peace, and international relations of complete equality.

Question: Mr President, foreign debt and inflation are two of the most serious issues that affect the economy of many countries in the world. What can be done to prevent their effect from worsening? How does Romania act in this respect? How would a new international economic order be characterized?

Answer: Indeed, the international economic situation continues to be very serious. In fact, one can say that, this situation has worsened in the past years and, in particular, the situation of developing countries has deteriorated. This is the direct result of the policy of the great imperialist powers, monopolies, international financial capital, and of relations of inequality and inequity in international economic exchanges. All these have brought about a strong increase of foreign debts in general and in developing countries' debts in particular. So far, much talk and many negotiations, under various forms, have been held, but, in general, no positive result has been achieved, primarily because of developing countries' position.

Romania speaks out for solving these problems through negotiations between developed and developing countries. We believe that the thesis of individual solutions, or solving problems separately with each country, in fact aims at impeding the joint action of developing countries to achieve overall solutions to these problems. Such is the nature of the situation that partial or individual solutions cannot ensure overall settlement of these problems. Global solutions are required, solutions which take

into account and begin from the need to achieve fundamental changes in international economic relations. Within this framework, we think of achieving new economic relations, based on equality and equity, of ensuring the access of developing countries to all scientific and technological discoveries, of eliminating custom barriers, of ensuring an equitable relation between the prices of raw materials and the prices of manufactured goods, and of achieving overall solutions to the foreign debt problem.

In this respect, Romania advanced a number of measures which aim at eliminating the debts of some less developed countries, reducing debts of other countries, and achieving a radical reduction of interest, and reorganizing payments for long-term debts to very low interest or even to no interest whatsoever. Why did we advance these proposals? Because we believe that, through their debts so far, the debtor countries have in fact repaid completely the sums they borrowed. Therefore, the banks and monopolies which granted the credit recovered, in fact, not only their credit but also a certain amount of more reasonable interest.

In order to solve these problems, developing countries should strengthen their solidarity and act in greater unity because, otherwise, they will not be able to make developed countries agree to appropriate solutions to these problems.

I have already mentioned that we speak out for negotiations. In my view, such negotiations could be best held within the UN framework, by organizing an international conference with the participation of all the countries—both developed and developing countries—in order to reach mutually acceptable agreements for both groups of countries, a conference which should take into consideration the serious problems of developing countries and should set forward the basic principles for the new international economic order, for economic relations based on equity, equality, and mutual advantage, and, thus, put an end to the current financial system and to the inequitable economic relations.

Question: Romania is a Latin country. What is the basis for this Latinity from a historical point view? To what extent did this Latinity help you in international relations? How do you view Romania's relations with the other countries, especially with your neighbors?

Answer: Indeed, Romania is a Latin country. This Latinity has been achieved through a long process of the Romanian people's development and through a symbiosis between Dacians and Romans, as early as the beginning of the first thousand years of our era, 2,000 years ago. This fusion between Dacians and Romans—that lasted a long time—led to the formation of the Romanian people and to the preservation of our people's Latin character. I can say that, this preservation of the Latin character and the formation of the Romanian nation and of the Romanian independent state are the result of a long-lasting struggle against oppression and foreign domination. The preservation of the Latin character can be explained to a great extent through this struggle but also through the fact that, in the respective period, the Latin civilization was among the most advanced civilizations and left its mark on the development of many states of the world.

Certainly, Romania attaches a particular importance to its relations with Latin origin countries in Europe, Latin America, and on other continents. But, at the same time, I must stress that, we advocate relations not only on the basis of a ethnic origin, but relations with all the countries in the world, without differentiation. We are going through such a period in mankind's socioeconomic development that we should base international cooperation on the latest discoveries in culture, science, and human knowledge and on the principles of independence and national sovereignty. Latinity or the origin of one nation or another should never lead to tendencies of isolation; on the contrary, we should work towards a broader cooperation, without differentiating. We should start from the fact that the general progress and peace must be achieved by all the people, in close cooperation—this can ensure a free and peaceful future for the whole mankind.

Question: Although our countries are situated a great distance from one another, have different socio-political systems, and are at different development levels, there are many similarities in the foreign policy promoted by Romania and Mexico. In your opinion, what is the reason for this? In general, how do you view the current stage of and prospects for Romanian-Mexican relations? Could this serve as an example of interstate relations?

Answer: Relations between Romania and Mexico are good. I believe that Romania and Mexico have identical or very close views on many international problems. Both Romania and Mexico speak out for a policy of peace, for finding solutions to all interstate conflicts solely through negotiations, for the elimination of force, and against a policy of domination. This ensures a good foundation for a broad cooperation between our countries and peoples.

We believe that the difference between social systems—not only between Romania and Mexico but between any other country—can be in no way a barrier in the path of a cooperation with good results for each country. In fact, the experience gained by Romania—which has favorable relations, aside from socialist countries, with developing and developed capitalist countries—shows the correctness of such a view point. The relations between Romania and Mexico—countries with different social systems—also show this.

Nevertheless, I must say openly that, in my opinion, the economic cooperation and the economic exchanges are not up to the level of political relations and the possibilities that exist in Romania and Mexico in this respect. We speak out for a more marked scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation. Speaking of culture, we take into account certain similarities of Latin origin—

but, I repeat, particularly an economic cooperation, as a requirement for strengthening the economic power, independence, and sovereignty of our countries. I hope that in the following period we will achieve a greater development of these relations.

In conclusion, through you, I would like to convey best wishes for prosperity, well-being, and peace to the friendly Mexican people.

Newspaper Comments on Honecker FRG Visit

AU171229 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1142 GMT 17 Sep 87

[Development of Relations Between the Two German States Meets Interests of European Peace and Security"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/9/1987—Public opinion in Romania followed with interest the official visit paid by Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] to West Germany and welcomed its positive results, the contribution to the cause of detente, collaboration and security in Europe and the world over—the Romanian paper *Scinteia* writes on September 17. It stresses inter alia: the visit to FRG by Erich Honecker has some special features, marking specific, different significations. As known, one of the objective realities emerged after the second world war was the creation of the two distinct German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—that embarked upon different socio-political development paths. By its constructive efforts, by its peace policy, the GDR won the place it deserves among the world states, was recognized by more and more countries and became a UN-member state concomitantly with the FRG. The need emerged of setting relationship between the GDR and the FRG based on the international law and a basic treaty governing their relationship was signed.

The recent dialogue between responsible factors in the GDR and the FRG goes down as a new step along the line of developing the relationship between the two states, as a political act of high significance for the normalization of relationship in the European continent for the first time in 40 years, an official visit takes place, which marks an affirmation of political realism, of a sense of understanding, of adaptation to historical facts.

In context, stress is laid on the special importance of the development of relationships between the GDR and the FRG, both bilaterally, to mutual interests, and in the continent, for the improvement of the general political climate in Europe and the world over. The links between the two German states have a specific significance; they had and have important implications for the general context of the European policy, and are of interest for all the states of the continent. The frontier between the GDR and the FRG is also the contact line between the two opposite military alliances. When crisis started and tension mounted in that zone, during the "cold war" days, they generated risks for the general cause of peace. On the contrary, progress along the line of normalization—that faces the continuous resistance of militarist retrograde forces—the development of relationship of economic collaboration are part and parcel of the process of building a Europe of security, understanding and peace.

The wish expressed by the two German states to continue and expand the dialogue and cooperation, to develop good-neighbourly relationship further making use of the possibilities offered by the basic treaty governing their relationship gives satisfaction to all European peoples, who appreciate the pledge—included in the joint communique—that never again should any war start from the German soil where the two world conflagrations originated, but international peace and understanding be exclusively promoted.

A special importance, with beneficial efforts on the situation in Europe, has the approach to disarmament issues during the talks. The GDR and the FRG pledge to work for progress and results to be achieved at the current Soviet-American negotiations and at the Geneva conference, for a growing contribution to the efforts to consolidate stability and security in Europe, *Scinteia* points out.

Dascalescu Meets Tunisian President

Greetings Exchanged

AU221819 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 22/9/1987—On 22 September Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, now officially visiting Tunisia, called on President Habib Bourguiba. The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial salutes between the presidents of Romania and Tunisia.

On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial message of friendship and best wishes of good health and personal happiness were conveyed to President Habib Bourguiba, and wishes of progress and continuous prosperity to the friendly Tunisian people.

In turn, the president of Tunisia sent to the Romanian head of state a salute of friendship and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, as well as new important successes to the friendly Romanian people.

During the talks the sides evoked the relations of tight friendship between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Habib Bourguiba and expressed the firm will to continue the fruitful Romanian-Tunisian dialogue established between the two heads of state in the advantage of a more powerful development of the relations of tight collaboration extant between the two countries.

The sides pointed out the possibilities offered by the economies of the two countries along the path of developing the economic relationship between Romania and

Tunisia, of finding new ways and means of cooperation in the economic field, in order to enhance substantially the volume of commercial exchanges based on mutual advantage. During the interview the sides exchanged information regarding the two countries' current preoccupations in point of economic and social development.

The sides also exchanged opinions on certain major issues of the international life.

In the context there were presented the considerations and proposals of President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the problems in the agenda of the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly, as well as his considerations on the ways to settle the Middle East conflict.

President Habib Bourguiba appreciated highly President Nicolae Ceausescu's consistent stand on the Middle East as well as the Romanian President's actions and initiatives along the line of settling the conflict in that zone.

Visit to Economic Units

AU222002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 22/9/1987—Tuesday, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, now on an official visit to Tunisia, saw round economic units in that country.

The first unit was the construction site of the port of Tabarka, built in cooperation with Romania. On the occasion, the governor of the Jondouba Province and other Tunisian officials appreciated the good collaboration between the Romanian and the Tunisian specialists and the possibilities offered by the economies of the two countries for the amplification and diversification of the mutually-advantageous economic cooperation.

Next, Constantin Dascalescu visited the Bizerta refinery. The Romanian guest pointed out possibilities extant for expanding and diversifying cooperation in production in the field.

Ceausescu Given Afghan Envoy's Credentials

AU181800 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/09/1987—On Friday, September 18, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Muhammadullah Subhani Safi [spelling as received] who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to Romania.

Ambassador Mohammadulah Subhani Safi handed over his letter of credence and of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Najibullah, and of the interim president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Haji Mohammad Tsamkani, as well as wishes of progress and welfare for the Romanian people.

The ambassador also expressed appreciation for the Romanian people's successes in socialist and communist construction, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's activity for the whole people's progress and prosperity, for the benefit of the cause of international peace and security.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the general secretary of the CC of the People's Democratic Party and the interim president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan a warm salute and the best wishes, and the friendly Afghan people wishes of prosperity and peace.

In his address, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and the broad possibilities of expanding them in various areas, in the interest and for the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration in the world.

Emphasis was placed on the foreign policy promoted by Socialist Romania aimed at a constructive settlement of international issues, as well as on the fact that under the current circumstances everything possible should be done for the removal of the threat of war, for the cessation of the arms race, for and [as received] the achievement of a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, and for the ensurance of peace on our planet.

Ceausescu Receives Afghan Party Official

AU211839 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/9/1987—On Monday, September 21, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the delegation of the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan, led by Najmuddin Kaywani [spelling as received], alternate member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of that party, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over a message and conveyed wishes of health and happiness, of progress and welfare for the Romanian people from the general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Najib, from that party's Political Bureau.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and, on his behalf and on behalf of the RCP leadership, conveyed a friendly salute and the best wishes to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party, and its Political Bureau, and the friendly Afghan people wishes of welfare and peace.

During the interview stress was laid on the cooperative and friendly links between the Romanian Communist Party and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the wish being expressed to work for their expansion on

various planes. The conviction was voiced that the visit to Romania of the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan would contribute to the development of the Romanian-Afghan cooperation, both bilaterally and internationally, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation throughout the world.

During the interview, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that Romania welcomed the measures taken for a political, negotiated settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, for national reconciliation, for the cessation of any interference in its domestic affairs, of any support to antigovernmental forces and the withdrawal, under these circumstances, of the foreign troops, for the achievement of the unity of all the forces wishing a united, powerful and independent Afghanistan, for the free and democratic development of the Afghan people, in the interest of good neighbourhood and cooperation in the region, of international peace and security.

The leader of the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan thanked for Romania's supporting the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and non-interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Present was also Muhammadullah Subhani Safi [spelling as received], Afghanistan's ambassador to Romania.

Iranian, U.S. Reaction to Ship Attack Cited

Iranian Position Cited

AU221847 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Report by Djordje Crmadic, TANJUG correspondent]

[Text] 'Ali Akbar Rasfanjani, Khomayni's representative to the Iran's Supreme Military Council, threatened the United States this morning that they will regret the attack on the Iranian ship. He also announced revenge soon, but he did not state in which way Tehran intends to react to last night's incident.

Washington's announcement that a U.S. helicopter attacked a ship that was laying mines in international waters of the Gulf was called a lie by Tehran. In contrast, Iran asserts that the victim of the attack was a freighter of the Iranian merchant marine. Tehran radio reports that missiles were fired from a U.S. helicopter at the the unarmed ship shortly before midnight on Monday. The radio adds that the damaged freighter was carrying food to an Iranian port.

According to the interpretation by the Iranian Parliament president, political motives were behind the U.S. attack. According to him, the ultimate aim was to divert the world public's attention from the speech to be delivered by Iranian president 'Ali Khamene'i in the United Nations today.

U.S. Position Reported

LD221918 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Washington, September 22 (TANJUG)—Representatives for the U.S. Administration today justified a U.S. helicopter attack on an Iranian ship last night, claiming that this action was a "purely defensive" one and in keeping with what the Americans had already said about what they were going to do in the Gulf.

The Iranian ship, the *Ajr*, was seen laying mines and a U.S. team which later embarked on the Iranian ship found ten mines on board, various mine safety devices and three dead members of its crew, the Pentagon and the White House representatives claimed.

The U.S. helicopter opened machinegun and rocket fire last night and disabled an amphibian unit of the Iranian Navy when having doubts about its laying mines northeast of Bahrain along a shipping lane used by ships in the Gulf.

U.S. ships found ten members of the Iranian ship's crew in a lifeboat and took another sixteen Iranians out of the sea. Another two crew members are missing, according to reports made public by now.

Iran officially denied that the ship, disabled by way of hits at its helm, was laying mines. Iranian statements about the ship's having transported food were transmitted here.

The U.S. warned the Iranian Government of what a U.S. reply to "provocative acts" posing immediate risks to U.S. and other ships could be, Martin Fitzwater, a White House spokesman, said.

CSSR General Secretary Continues Visit

Talks Held With Krunic

LD221524 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today had talks with Gustav Husak, secretary general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who is on an official and friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency.

The talks, which were conducted in a cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of openness and understanding, were also attended, on the Yugoslav side, by: Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary in the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dr Aleksandar Sekulovic, head of a department of the LCY'S International Cooperation; and Dusan Rodic, SFRY ambassador in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and on the Czechoslovak side by: Svatopluk Potac, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and deputy premier; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Jaroslav Macek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee's secretary general; Jan Husak, the Czechoslovak ambassador in the SFRY; and other officials.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee assessed relations between the LCY and the CPCZ in positive terms, stressing that they were an important factor in overall Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations. Readiness was expressed to continue to develop and promote interparty cooperation along the lines of well-established principles. He said full adherence to these principles has prevented the differences in Yugoslavia's and Czechoslovakia's internal development and international position from being an obstacle to the development of comprehensive and stable cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ as well as between the two socialist countries.

It was agreed that the interparty top-level political dialogue should continue, thus providing an opportunity to exchange views and experiences regarding all issues of mutual interest.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee informed each other about their respective parties' activity on the domestic scene.

Bosko Krunic informed his eminent guest about the activity in implementing the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and, in particular, about the efforts to ensure a more stable economic and social development of the country, the further democratization of the political system of socialist self-management, and the enhancement of the LCY'S capabity to fulfill its leading ideopolitical role in society.

Gustav Husak spoke about the CPCZ'S role in implementing the resolutions of the 17th Congress and the tasks of speeding up the country's economic development and making use of the achievements of its scientific and technical progress. He also made references to the process of reforms in the economic mechanism and to other measures of the country's socioeconomic development conducive to a fuller use of all the potentials offered by socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Both sides expressed concern over the tense international situation burdened by many problems, but at the same time voiced their optimism over the growing awareness in the world of the need to halt the arms race and to continue negotiations and dialogue as the sole ways of resolving all the pressing problems of today.

During an exchange of views about the situation and the trends in the workers' movement throughout the world, both sides emphasized that, in the development of socialism as a world process, the right to differing paths and substance of revolutionary social transformation had been increasingly accepted. Important contributions to this has been made by the rich experiences of many progressive parties and movements throughout the world, as well as by the growing readiness to consistently recognize democratic principles in relations between all parties and between socialist countries, and also to respect the right of all parties to independently formulate their policy proceeding from their own internal conditions and national interests.

The interlocutors also drew attention to the increasing importance of voluntary cooperation and creative dialogue between progressive parties and movements. The fact that no one has the right to monopolize truth either in theory or practice and that all are today faced with the issue of how to further develop socialism in the conditions of the present-day scientific and technical revolution, further emphasizes the importance of an even more intensive, equal cooperation and the usefulness of political dialogue, and of a more comprehensive exchange of views and experiences.

The importance was also stressed of the process of economic and social reforms under way in the majority of socialist countries. They are an example of the capacity of the subjective socialist forces to face social practice in a critical manner, and to search for new forms capable of securing a more efficient economic development and further democratization in social relations.

B. Krunic and G. Husak also informed each other about the two parties' international activity.

Gustav Husak extended an invitiation to the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Talks Held with Mikulic

LD221635 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Gustav Husak, CSSR president and general secretary of the CPCZ CC, held talks with Branko Mikulic, Federal Executive Council president, today in Belgrade.

Husak and Mikulic exchanged views on the two countries' plans for socioeconomic development in light of overall international economic relations, the rapid development of new technologies, and the need to catch up with the scientific-technological revolution.

Branko Mikulic acquainted the high-ranking guest with the efforts which our society is making with the aim of implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization, introducing market conditions for economic activity and real economic categories in all aspects of Yugoslav economic life.

Gustav Husak spoke about the basic directions of Czechoslovak economic reform and the need to carry out changes in the country's economic structure.

The CSSR president and the Federal Executive Council president also discussed bilateral cooperation. They established the need to take new steps in order to increase the volume and quality of exchange, so as to carry out balancing at a higher level. They pointed out extensive unused opportunities for developing higher forms of economic cooperation, in particular through joint investments, industrial cooperation, and scientific-technological cooperation.

Husak and Mikulic also talked about international economic relations, in particular about solving the problems of debts of developing countries, cooperation between Yugoslavia and the CMEA countries, and relations in Europe.

Report on Husak Interview

LD222112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Gustav Husak, CSSR president and general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a positive assessment of his visit to Yugoslavia and the talks with Yugoslav leaders.

In an interview with *Tanjug* and Belgrade TV this afternoon in the White Palace in Dedinje, Gustav Husak stressed that he had expected that the visit and talks would be friendly, but that in this respect his expectations were surpassed. He very favorably assessed the talks on the questions of political and economic cooperation.

According to him, the talks primarily dealt with economic cooperation because, as he said, both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are entering a new phase in their scientific-technological development, and both countries are very interested in promoting modern forms of economic cooperation. In connection with this, he added, a document on economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000 was signed.

In response to a question on socioeconomic reforms in Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak said that all socialist countries are now seeking ways and opportunities for speedier social, economic, and scientific-technological development in order to ensure the propserity of all of society. Our attention in Czechoslovakia is now devoted to his, Husak said. These questions have been worked on since the 17th CPCZ Congress, the congress which set the task of speeding up socioeconomic development. New regulations on state enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and cooperatives in general, have been prepared and public discussion on them has started. In practical terms, this means restructuring the overall system of management and adapting the leading forms of political work, as well as the people's ways of thinking. In short, Gustav Husak concluded, this implies the desire to enter a new stage of development in Czechoslovakia in all areas.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD222237 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade Sept 22 (CTK correspondent)—A long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia by the year 2000 was signed in the presence of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav presidents, Gustav Husak and Lazar Mojsov, in Belgrade today.

The signatories were deputy premiers Svatopluk Potac for Czechoslovakia and Janez Zemljaric for Yugoslavia.

The program creates conditions for progressing towards a qualitatively higher stage of cooperation between the two countries. It contributes towards intensive development of both countries' economies and modernization of their production potential, to scientific and technological progress and improvement of the living standards. The spheres of scientific and technical development and innovations, mutual exchanges of machinery and equipment of a high technical standard, exchanges of technologies and cooperation in their development and in production will become central to economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. On the basis of the program they will focus their effort on promoting cooperation in the engineering, electrical engineering, electronic, chemical, rubber and pharmaceutical industries. Cooperation is also gaining in importance in the mining, processing and supplies of raw materials and reproduction materials in agriculture and the food industry.

In consumer goods, joint effort will be focused on distinctly increasing division of labour, on cooperation in production and exchanges of goods, especially attractive and fashion goods with the aim to enrich supply on the home markets. The program provides for more extensive use of modern forms of cooperation.

After the signature, Gustav Husak and Lazar Mojsov with the two delegations met for final talks. They appreciated the results of the talks and their contribution to the further development of all round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. A joint statement was adopted in conclusion.

Cooperation Assessed

LD230356 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2145 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade, September 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia will continue to work toward strengthening security and cooperation in Europe, where the return of the period of tense relations must not be permitted, Yugoslav State Presidency President Lazar Mojsov and Czechoslovak state and party head Gustav Husak jointly assessed today.

At the end of two-day talks in Belgrade, the two statesmen expressed the hope that the announced U.S. Soviet agreement on shorter- and medium-range missiles would affect positively trends in Europe, where, as they jointly assessed, efforts should be invested towards limiting and eliminating conventional forces.

Assessing that a dialogue on the serious question should include all European countries, Mojsov and Husak pointed out the significance of negotiations on the topic at the Vienna CSCE.

Husak's visit to Yugoslavia was assessed in the talks as a contribution to the future development of the two countries' relations, and some of its concrete results as a possible turning point in certain areas of bilateral relations.

This primarily relates to a document signed today on economic and scientific-technological cooperation to the year 2000 between the two countries, envisaging the transfer to qualitatively new forms of cooperation, particularly through joint investments and appearances on third markets, coproduction and the formation of joint enterprises.

Mojsov and Husak assessed that to the above a considerable effort will be needed. However, they stressed the two countries' interest in achieving the new quality.

Tomorrow, the last day of the three-day visit to Yugoslavia, Husak will spend in Zagreb where he will have talks with Republic of Croatia President Ante Markovic and visit a number of major economic enterprises.

First Bank Liquidated Since World War II

LD230944 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2330 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Bihac. Sept 22 (TANJUG)—The Bank of Bihac, which guaranteed a national currency equivalent to nearly 900 million dollars' worth of false promissory

notes issued by the Agrokomerc enterprise of Velika Kladusa, today became the first Yugoslav bank to be liquidated since the war.

Agrokomerc's issue of uncovered promissory notes has dealt the most serious post-war blow in the Yugoslav financial system.

Private dinar and foreign exchange deposits handled by the bank up to now are protected and guaranteed under a decision to liquidate the bank and will be transferred to other banks.

It was decided to proceed with the liquidation without delay because of the insurmountable difficulties facing a large number of successful enterprises based in this part of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a result of the bank's insolvency. The lack of funds required for normal production process and salaries of nearly 50,000 workers has led to a near collapse of economic activity in the region.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Agrokomerc
LD201224 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 19 Sep 87

["Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee—Discussion"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Suljo Mehic, the first participant in the discusssion advocated a consistent establishing of responsibility for the machinations at Agrokomerc. He warned that this affair, which shook the entire country, cannot be blamed on the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Noting that the Agrokomerc affair was a direct undermining of the country's economic system, Colonel General Milan Daljevic asked how it was at all possible that over such a long period thousands of communists of the Cazin region could have been manipulated. As members of the Central Committee we should also establish our share of responsibility, because lots of things have been happening before our very eyes, Daljevic said, insisting that direct or indirect responsibility of individuals from the municipality to the federation should be thoroughly examined. [passage omitted]

Milanko Renovica asked how and with what persistence differentiation is to be carried out, and ideo-political, moral-political and also criminal accountability are to be established. He advocated an organized campaign for accountability can be specific, individual, or collective. He pointed out, however, that it is not good for accountability to be stepped up only in regard to whether or not someone had visited Velika Kladusa, or whether he had or had not had contacts with the leadership there. At the same time, Renovica went on, it is not a good thing for a lot of sentimentality to be introduced into such differentiation, or for it to be approached from the standpoint of revanchism and vindictiveness, without facts. I must emphasize, Renovica said, that the resignation of Hamdija Pozderac from his post as member of the SFRY Presidency helps to clear up the whole affair, but also helps to reinforce the unity for such differentiation to be continued, i.e. for the republican leadership's work to be continued in the struggle against the deviations, illegality, and scandals which have come to light in connection with this case. [passage omitted]

Raif Dizdarevic said that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee is today confronted by a difficult task, more difficult than that of the Informburo. I am convinced, he stressed, that people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Yugoslavia are watching what we are going to do today to get out of the profound crisis and to restore shaken morale. They are evaluating us on how we shall demonstrate this and and what commitment we shall show in this case. We must therefore, first and foremost, give all the explanations which Yugoslavia seeks, must answer what happened in our country and why. According to Dizdarevic, Agrokomerc is the gravest blow to Yugoslavia from Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is at one and the same time the gravest blow to the development of the republic and to its position in the country.

Dizdarevic then said that such a great deal of attention has rarely been devoted in the world to any event in Yugoslavia. After Kosovo, this event has given rise to the most negative comments on Yugoslavia, and has thereby shaken our country's prestige as an economic partner, whilst it has been used, too, to discredit socialist self-management.

Dizdarevic called for the causes and consequences to be confirmed, and also the responsibility of everyone who contributed to it, as well as of those who are offering resistance. In his opinion, there must be no vacillation in this, and one can see from the information and the introductory report that there is none, and that we must be wary of this in particular. In this situation, everyone is personally responsible for making it possible to establish all the vital facts. For if this is not facilitated, we shall arrive at a situation where problems are being resolved in much more difficult conditions, as was the case, for instance, with Kosovo.

According to Dizdarevic's evaluation, the debates in committees on the Agrokomerc affair are moving toward settling it, and on this basis unity can be renewed, the unity which cannot exist in conditions of opportunism and revanchism. We have started differentiation starting from us, and this must be continued. We cannot now refer to there having been similar affairs in other republics, too. We cannot defend ourselves like that, unless we rid ourselves of our own mistakes. The Agrokomerc affair must be a landmark for renewing the prestige of the LC and of the system itself.

We have in fact arrived at a red line and we can go no further. I am not for polemics, like Hrvoje Istuk, Dizdarevic said, for these polemics were expressed before the LC reviewed the situation, and they unnecessarily disturb the public. Dizdarevic sees one of the causes for the

origin of the Agrokomerc affair as lying in the underdeveloped democratic relations and democratic atmosphere in the LC, in which opportunism is increasingly taking root. Another cause, he opined, is the great errors in cadre policy. Efforts are necessary to democratize cadre policy, in order to avoid having people moving around at the top, instead of their ability being measured by the quality of their labor and their prestige in their envirnoment. Dizdarevic also advocated convening a plenum on cadre policy.

Speaking about nationalism, Dizdarevic stressed that where this is concerned, communists are responsible to all the nations and nationalities. It is individuals who are behind the allegations that muslim cadres are bearing the brunt of things now, whereas the people do not think that. The national identity of the muslims is a legacy backed up by all, whilst bringing up nationalism and trying to invoke it in this case must be rejected as soon as possible, Raif Dizdarevic stressed. [passage omitted]

Branko Mikulic said that the Agrokomerc affair had passed over Basnia—Hercegovina like a tornado, and that what it uncovered exceeded all evil forebodings both in the material, political, and moral sense. According to him, this had cast a shadow upon everything that had been built here over decades, and therefore a certain time is needed to verify if it is all true. One can only ask whether the sobering up process could be a bit quicker, Mikulic added.

He assessed that Agrokomerc is the consequence of a lack of effective control over implementation of the law, or of the fact that some important institutions of the system, such as the Social Accountancy Service, the banks and others, do not operate in a unified and successful way. Mikulic also pointed out that with the introduction of a real economy and of restrictive monetary and credit policy, cases of financial discipline are coming to the surface which have a serious effect upon the growth of inflation. Having stressed that it will probably emerge that the Agrokomerc losses were covered by promissory notes, he backed demands for legal and disciplinary measures to be taken against the culprits in this affair.

Mikulic also backed all criticisms voiced at this session, and assessed that today's debate has shown that this affair has not undermined unity in the Bosia-Hercegovina LC and that one must turn to the future as soon as possible. We have relied too much upon the institutions of the system and the cadres in them, and we have not been sufficiently in contact with the base, Mikulic said. This has given rise to two negative consequences—development policy has not been realized as was agreed, and all this has made possible various manipulations by the protagonists of technocratic monopolies. We have become separated from the working class, Mikulic said, recalling Tito's idea that the place for communists is amongst the workers and the people.

He underlined that the time is ripe for a serious review of the state of affairs in the LC, so that it should not be pushed any further onto the periphery of events. Otherwise many sectors of the LC look more like a standing army, and less like a revolutionary vanguard. [*TANJUG* Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 2052 GMT on 19 September transmits a service message deleting this sentence]

Mikulic then said that the FEC is taking measures to reinforce the control functions of various organs, adding that the vigorous measures being taken in Velika Kladusa or Varazdin cannot be grounds for losing confidence in the institutions of the system, but rather for strengthening it. [passage omitted]

In his reply to the above, Hamdija Pozderac said that motives he had given for his resignation remain principled reasons, that is a desire to strengthen the unity of the LC and confidence in the leadership of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and the LCY. He rejected suppositions that he had directly been involved in the bills affair.

I must repeat that I dissociate myself from this and that my support to Agrokomerc had been equal to the support given to all the other organizations in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, Pozderac stressed. My resignation is also motivated by all those phenomena caused by Agrokomerc. Such a gesture on my part could to a certain degree make the things easier and ensure a way out of the present situation in which Bosnia-Hercegovina is prevented in its attempts to resolve its economic and other difficulties, as some are trying to do encouraged by this case, Hamdija Pozderac said.

Political organs cannot be responsible for crime according to the legal system, recalled Pozderac. This does not mean that they do not have moral responsibility, because if the two were put together I do not know what the country's legal system would turn into, he stressed. For this reason, he added, I still think today that it is good for the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee to dissociate itself from the claim that the bills affair was conducted with the consent of the Bosnia-Hercegovina organs.

Hamdija Pozderac went on to say that he was not the first one in the country to hand in his resignation for principled reasons. Was it the mining minister's fault that a catastrophe occured in the Kakanj mine? No, but he had to resign for moral reasons. You cannot lay blame upon me for supporting Agrokomerc. I am not resigning because I feel guilty, Hamdija Pozderac repeated, adding that no one can be held responsible for stands put forth in the development of a policy, but only if he is making mistakes or not implemented on the policy agreed on. I spoke at the session of the Cazin LC Municipal Conference, because the people there know me best and nobody condemned me. But it is my right and duty to feel responsible for the situation that has arisen in connection with Agrokomerc.

I am not leaving political life and I will continue to be involved, as concluded by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium. I do not feel myself a

victim in any way, but it is my duty to contribute to efforts to go forward into the future and the development of new stands, Pozderac stressed. [passage omitted]

Mamula Meets Soldiers Wounded in Attack

LD191011 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—It would be very dangerous for the feeling of disgust and scorn toward the murderer to be transferred to all Albanians. We must now, and in the future, behave in an equally open and principled way toward soldiers of all nationalities and nations, said Federal Secretary for National Defense, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula in a conversation with soldiers Nazif Adzovic, Petar Djekic, Ante Jazic, Huso Kovacevic, Nedzib Mehmedovic, and Andrej Preseren, who were wounded in the criminal act in the Branko Krsmanovic barracks in Paracin on 3 September this year.

Admiral Mamula, it is reported, expressed satisfaction with the quick and successful recovery of all the injured soldiers. In a conversation, he once again expressed, on his own behalf and in the name of all members of the Yugoslav People's Army, anger toward and condemnation of the terrorist act, which, in a vicious and treacherous way, ended the lives of soldiers Goran Begic, Safiet Dudakovic, Hazim Dzananovic, and Srdjan Simic.

Pointing out that the criminal had been nourished by nationalist hatred, the federal secretary said: "You have seen what the isolation of certain national groups within themselves, within their own circles, means. You have seen that without real comradely relations, without brotherhood and unity, not even a small collective can exist, let alone the Yugoslav People's Army. Brotherhood and unity is our only path, with no alternatives. On this we must also, in the future, build our relations, all military collectives, and the Yugoslav People's Army as a whole. It is precisely in brotherhood and unity that the main strength of our country and the main support for its future, for its development, and defense lies, whether against an external or an internal enemy." There must be absolutely no revanchism of any kind in anything. Any other behavior would be contrary to the character of the Yugoslav People's Army, to its essence, its role and the duties it has in the multinational Yugoslav community.

All those who think, Admiral Mamula stressed, that any kind of anti-Yugoslav actions or actions against the role, place, and duties of the Yugoslav People's Army could go unpunished in the Army are deceiving themselves. None of us, from the soldier to the secretary for national defense and the state and party leadership, will allow anyone to play with our armed forces because these are one of the important fulcrums and pillars on which the nonalignment, territorial integrity, and security of Socialist Yugoslavia rest.

Speaking about the great importance of conscientiously and responsibly fulfilling the duties and obligations of the soldier, Admiral Mamula emphasized that the soldier's duties must be carried out today better than they were yesterday, and tomorrow they must be carried out better than today, since the time in which we live is becoming increasingly complex.

You have experienced this tragedy young. It has befallen you very young, but we believe that because of your youth and because you are from a people which has, unfortunately, learned to meet with similar bloodlettings, you will quickly recover and that your injuries will not be any sort of hindrance to your lives or health, said Admiral Mamula. [passage omitted]

As an acknowledgement of the successful carrying out of their military duties, the federal secretary for national defense presented the injured soldiers with wristwatches and a book on the SFRY armed forces with a dedication. [passage omitted]

POLITIKA's Olbina Resigns

AU201909 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 87 p 4

[TANJUG Report: "Zivana Olbina's Resignation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep—After a 6-hour discussion about topical issues concerning the realization of *Politika's* editorial policy held at today's session of the paper's editorial board, Zivana Olbina, president of the editorial board, submitted her resignation. Explaining her decision she stressed that she did not successfully oppose the relegation of the editorial board to a marginal role and that *Politika* recently lost the analyticity and seriousness in its approach to some themes. Although the circulation of the paper has increased, this was a result of a certain dose of sensationalism which does not suit the paper's tradition. In this atmosphere, Olbina said, *Politika* failed to oppose the emergence of Serbian nationalism.

Citing the assessment of last week's LCY Central Committee Presidium session regarding the strong penetration of nationalism and anti-communism, Dr Ivan Stojanovic, director of *Politika* newspaper organization, said that in addition to the fact that in most cases *Politika* wrote courageously and argumentatively, some negative tendencies have been noted. Some texts, particularly letters and feuilletons that were recently published by the paper, Stojanovic said, are at the very edge of nationalism and I am not behind them.

Noting that there are significant differences in the realization of the paper's editorial policy, Dr Zivorad Minovic, chief and responsible editor of *Politika*, pointed to the paper's popularity. Every editorial board's suggestion will be taken into account as has been done up to now, but, Minovic warned, one should not create an atmosphere which could, because of some mistakes, discredit the paper's reputation.

At the end of the session members of the board concluded that the final decision on many questions that have been raised today requires a detailed analysis of *Politika's* work in the last 3 months. Only on the basis of

such an analysis, which the board is obliged to prepare, can one argumentatively assess the realization of the paper's agreed policy. Because of the importance of the questions discussed, the board concluded that it must come up with its assessment as soon as possible.

TANJUG, TV Reporting Criticized

AU220833 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 87 p 12

[R. N. report: "Strange Path of TANJUG's Incorrect Report"]

[Text] The *Tanjug* reporter who was present at yesterday's session did not respect the professional code of practice, and thus the recipients of the agency's service at Belgrade Radio and Television received the wrong impression of what happened at yesterday's session. Neither the editorial staff nor its members present at the board's meeting had a confrontation with the editorial board; there were only with some isolated statements about nationalism made by Zivana Olbina and Ivan Stojanovic.

Read at the peak time of the television's second News program, this report gave the wrong impression, especially because the agency's reporter emphasized negative assessments despite the fact that the majority's view was clear—one cannot make assessments without a good and argumentative analysis. It is still unclear how the report of the resignation of the president of *Politika's* editorial board came to be read on Belgrade television, considering that the television reporter was not present at the session and that *Tanjug* carried the report at 12 minutes after 2000—by which time the News was already over.

Putting it mildly, it is incorrect to show this kind of "zeal" in reporting, particularly when such material mistakes are made. It is incorrect that "in the majority's view nationalism is widely expressed," and that "in the fight against Albanian nationalism the right measures are not always found." We are saying all this for the sake of truth about yesterday's session, unless TANJUG and television had in mind some other kind of truth thought out in advance.